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**VOLUME TWO: IMPACTS OF
PRESENT AND FUTURE
IMMIGRATION
DECEMBER, 1984**

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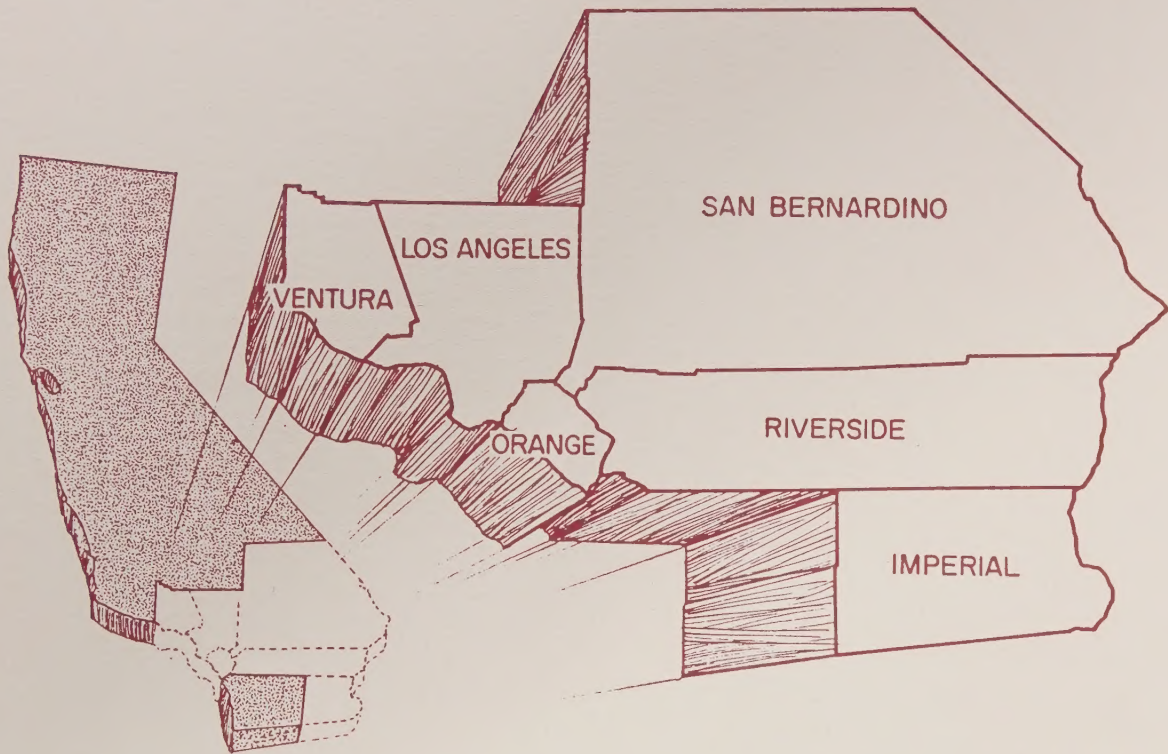
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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA: A REGION IN TRANSITION

scag
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
ASSOCIATION OF GOVERNMENTS

SCAG REGION



This report was developed for a number of purposes, including:


- Improving our knowledge regarding the ethnic and immigrant components of growth, thereby improving the accuracy of SCAG's forecasts of total population, housing and employment growth;
- Increasing the awareness of the implications and impacts of the changing demographic makeup of our region, so that SCAG and the local governments of the region can better prepare for these changes;
- Providing local governments and other interested groups with information concerning where within the SCAG region the most dramatic demographic changes are occurring.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA: A REGION IN TRANSITION

Volume Two: Impacts of Present and Future Immigration

DECEMBER, 1984

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
I. Executive Summary	I-1
II. Introduction	II-1
III. Economic Impacts	III-1
IV. Public Education Impacts	IV-1
V. Housing Impacts	V-1
VI. Public Health/Social Service Impacts	VI-1
VII. Public Transportation Impacts	VII-1
VIII. Social and Cultural Impacts	VIII-1
IX. References	IX-1
Appendix A -- Housing Characteristics	A-1

I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report is a companion to the SCAG report entitled Southern California: A Region in Transition: Scenarios of Future Immigration and Ethnicity. That report documents the extensive growth of immigrant populations in the SCAG region over the last 10-15 years, which has led to greater diversity in the region's ethnic composition and changes in the social and cultural environment of the region.

Immigration offers both challenges and opportunities for the region. In this report, we examine selected socioeconomic characteristics of the recent immigrants as compared to the remainder of the population, and discuss some of the effects that this group is having on the economic and social structures of the region, particularly in Los Angeles County where over 80% of recent immigrants have located. The information is based largely on special tabulations of the 1980 Census prepared by SCAG, literature review, and public reports. Recent immigrants are defined specifically in this report as foreign-born individuals living in the SCAG region less than five years, as of 1980.

The report also examines potential impacts/implications/issues associated with the future immigration scenarios presented in the accompanying report, focusing on what are called the "High Scenario" and the "Low Scenario." These two scenarios are at the upper and lower ends of the four scenarios that have been developed by SCAG. The High Scenario assumes continuation of legal immigration at levels experienced during the 1970s, and undocumented immigration at the high end of estimates given in recent studies. In total, 2.8 million immigrants would come to the region by 2000. The Low Scenario represents a case where legal immigration would be at the lowest levels under recent immigration bills presented to Congress, and where undocumented immigration is assumed to be completely halted. In total, 880,000 immigrants would come to the region by 2000.

The remainder of this summary presents findings on characteristics and impacts of recent immigration, and potential implications related to future immigration based on the High and Low Scenarios. The following topics are covered:

- Economic Impacts
- Public Education Impacts
- Housing Impacts
- Public Health/Social Services Impacts
- Public Transportation Impacts
- Social and Cultural Impacts

The full report also includes discussion of socioeconomic differences and similarities among ethnic subcomponents of the immigrant population, and among the overall regional population.

It must be emphasized that this report provides only an overview. Many issues and impacts require much further study and investigation, and some issues cannot be definitively resolved at this time based on current knowledge. The whole topic of immigration and its present and future impacts is an area ripe for much more intensive study and analysis. However, other major population dynamics occurring in the region also need more study, particularly the significant in-migration that is happening from other parts of the U. S., as well as rather substantial out-migration.

It should be noted that the socioeconomic characteristics of recent immigrants summarized below do not reflect potential changes that may occur in those characteristics over time as immigrants live in this country.

ECONOMIC IMPACTS

- Historically, immigrant labor and the desire of immigrants to improve their economic condition have been important forces in the growth of the Southern California economy. In general, their entrepreneurial spirit, desire to become financially secure, willingness to work long and hard, and the push to improve their skills and education have contributed not only to their success but have made an overall positive contribution to the economy in which they work.
- The following are selected economic characteristics of the region's most recent immigrants, as compared with the remainder of the population:
 - Recent immigrants had lower levels of educational attainment than base residents, and recent in-migrants from other parts of the U. S., as measured in 1980. Only 38% of the immigrants had completed high school in 1980, compared with 56% of residents and 65% of recent in-migrants. Although these educational attainment levels are a general indicator of varying skill levels among these three groups, they also indicate that many immigrants are generally well-educated, even by current U. S. standards. Hispanic immigrants, by far the largest immigrant group, had lower levels of attainment than other ethnic immigrant groups. Only 17% had completed high school, compared with 59% of Nonhispanic (NH) White, 63% of Black, and 56% of Asian/Other immigrants.
 - Immigrant workers who have been in the U. S. less than five years tend to be concentrated in the laborer, sales and service occupations. Certain sectors are heavily dependent on immigrant Hispanic labor: the garment industry, restaurants, hotel and motels, hospitals, and manufacturers of furniture, mobile homes, and leather products. Although a number of recent immigrants are also self-employed entrepreneurs, only 13% are in the executive professional categories--low compared to the resident and in-migrant populations (23% and 28%, respectively).
 - Labor force participation rates (LFPRs) by recent immigrants are not much different from longer-term residents (62% vs. 65%). The higher rate for recent in-migrants (72%) may indicate that many of them migrated to Southern California from other areas of the U. S.

to take specific jobs. Among immigrants, labor force participation rates are significantly higher for Hispanics and Blacks than for White and Asian/Other immigrants. This may indicate they came primarily for economic/employment reasons and are much more willing to actively participate in the labor force. The higher age distribution of White and Asian/Other immigrants, and their lower LFPRs, suggests they immigrated less for employment/economic reasons than the other groups.

- Two major economic issues regarding recent immigrants are (1) whether they compete with and take jobs away from U.S.-born workers, and (2) whether large-scale immigration causes lower wages. There is absolutely no consensus on these issues among researchers, and there is a wide range of viewpoints that have developed particularly as a result of studies on recent undocumented Mexican immigrants. On the first issue, one "camp" believes the influx of unskilled workers has enabled the number of professional and skilled jobs to grow, and that immigrants have actually created additional unskilled jobs. Another camp believes that immigrants fill certain jobs that the rest of the population does not want. Still another camp contends that U.S.-born workers do want the jobs of undocumented immigrants, but many employers prefer to hire the latter group because among other reasons they can pay them lower wages and offer fewer benefits.
- A number of economic implications are possible with the various Year 2000 immigration scenarios. The High Scenario, with about 2.8 million additional documented and undocumented immigrants entering the region before 2000 could accentuate those economic impacts that have occurred and have been documented in the 1975-1980 period, especially if the economic profile of future immigrants is similar to current trends. The significant out-migration of residents that is projected to occur under this scenario could be due to high housing costs and other negative factors associated with the region. However, it could also result in part from lowering of wages and job displacement caused by continued high levels of undocumented workers, although there is little data or agreement on this issue.

There would be substantially less chance of lowering of wages or severe job displacement under the Low Scenario, since all immigration would be legal. Additional jobs would probably be filled by U.S. workers and legal immigrants, although a severe labor shortage could result within certain industries and/or occupational categories. Also legal immigrants generally have higher occupational levels than undocumented immigrants and would be less likely to compete with the unskilled resident segment of the population.

- Most economic issues/impacts relating to immigrants are unresolved on the basis of current knowledge and require further study, particularly regarding such factors as labor productivity, effects on wage levels and job displacement, effects on the occupational profile of the region, savings and consumption patterns, foreign capital investment and distribution, foreign trade stimulation, and job formation effects.

PUBLIC EDUCATION IMPACTS

- The inflow of immigrant children into schools, and the increasing ethnic diversity within schools, offers the opportunity for schools to become the arena for cultural enrichment, exchange, and tolerance among the region's younger population. It also presents a major challenge for schools to provide an environment that lessens frictions that often occur between various ethnic groups.
- Immigrants are currently affecting the region's schools in several ways:
 - Recent immigrant children made up only 5% of the region's public school enrollment in 1980; however, with clustering of ethnic populations in certain communities, some schools (or school districts) had a much higher proportion of immigrant children.
 - The presence of these children, along with less recent immigrant children and U. S. born children of immigrant parents, also means that some districts have a large number of students enrolled who do not speak English fluently. For example, 1 out of every 5 students in the Los Angeles city schools does not speak English fluently. More than 80 languages are spoken in Los Angeles city schools, 40 at Hollywood High School alone. In the region as a whole, 46% of recent immigrant children were not fluent in English. Almost all of these children were Hispanics (67%) and Asians (28%). The language problem has had a fiscal impact on many schools, creating the need for special teachers, curricula, and English language instruction.
 - Fifty-six percent (56%) of recent adult immigrants in the region in 1980 did not speak English fluently. Again, almost all of the non-fluent immigrant population consisted of Hispanic adults (70%) and Asians (22%). A sizeable number of less recent immigrants also are not fluent. This situation has created demand for adult English language programs.
 - Two major issues related to current impacts of immigration on public educational systems include: (1) the desirability and effectiveness of bilingual education, and (2) overcrowding in inner city schools related to the uneven geographic distribution of immigrants.
- Immigrant children would comprise 7% of the region's school-age population in 2000 under the High Scenario and 2% under the Low. Another way of looking at the impacts of immigration on the region's school systems is to understand that during the 20-year period between 1980 and 2000, about 790,000 additional immigrant children would be entering the schools under the High Scenario, and about 237,000 children under the Low. Therefore, English language instruction needs would be quite different under each scenario.
- Adult immigrants would comprise 6% of the region's adult population under the High Scenario and 2% under the Low. However, during the

next 20 years, there could be up to 1,287,000 adult immigrants in the region who would not speak English fluently, potentially creating a great demand for English language classes for adults. This demand would be significantly lower under the Low Scenario, with about 398,000 immigrants not speaking English fluently.

HOUSING IMPACTS

- Recent immigrant households have special housing characteristics and needs that are different from the region's households as a whole:
 - Recent immigrant households tend to be larger (e.g., 26% of immigrants have 5 or more persons per household, compared with 14% of the entire population; and 36% of immigrants have 1-2 person households, compared with 56% of the total population).
 - There is a much higher rate of renting among recent immigrants--83% of all recent immigrants in 1980 rented, compared with 42% of longer-term residents. Similarly, a greater proportion of immigrants lived in multifamily units compared to longer-term residents. However, data indicates that the longer recent immigrants live in this country, and also as their incomes rise, their rate of home ownership also rises.
 - About 44% of all recent immigrants lived in overcrowded housing (more than 1.01 person per room) in 1980, compared with 8% of longer-term residents. Similarly, the incidence of overpayment was nearly twice as high among immigrants as longer-term residents (49 vs. 27%). Overpayment is defined as households earning less than 80% of the regional median income and paying 30% or more of their income toward housing costs.
 - Almost 75% of all recent immigrants were minority households, and about 83% settled in the County of Los Angeles where other minority households are concentrated.
- The Year 2000 immigration scenarios could greatly influence the number and size of housing units needed over the next 20 years. The Low, and especially the High Scenarios suggest the need for additional "large" dwelling units because of the larger household sizes of ethnic minorities who will make up a larger share of our future population. Under the Low Scenario, 21% of all additional households are predicted to be large, compared to the 14% of all households today. Under the High Scenario, 34% of additional households are predicted to be large. The number of households in the region would grow by 33% in the Low Scenario, and by only 23% in the High Scenario, because of larger household sizes. This means that fewer additional housing units would be needed under the High Scenario, compared to the Low.

The need for larger dwelling units is counter to recent trends which have down-sized units to cut costs and make housing affordable for today's predominately smaller households. A housing issue for policy-makers may be how to expand housing unit sizes to accommodate larger minority households when they and immigrant households have significant

overpayment and overcrowding problems. This issue may tend to be concentrated in the geographic center of the region. The need for larger dwelling units at affordable prices may also suggest the need for greater emphasis on rehabilitation of older existing housing stock, and less emphasis on new construction.

PUBLIC HEALTH/SOCIAL SERVICE IMPACTS

- Current research has focused on the question of whether immigrants, particularly undocumented immigrants, place a net burden on the public sector in terms of costs. Findings indicate that:
 - Although many recent immigrants are lower in educational attainment and income levels than either residents or in-migrants, there was little difference between the groups in the proportion of each collecting federal public assistance income in 1979; 6.2% of all recent immigrants received payments, compared to 6.9% of residents and 5.0% of in-migrants.
 - Studies of undocumented Mexican immigrants have also shown a relatively low use (less than 1% of those sampled) of public welfare assistance and other programs, such as food stamps and unemployment compensation. The much lower usage relates to the fact that undocumented immigrants are not eligible for Medicaid and other federal programs, although their U.S.-born children are eligible, and do make use of these programs.
 - Studies of undocumented Mexican immigrants have shown that the service they most use is health care, but research has found that most of these individuals are prepared to pay fully in cash for treatment to eliminate questions about immigration status. An exception has been the non-payment of bills for acute hospital care.
 - A special health care problem for immigrants is mental health care, especially for refugees who have experienced persecution in their native lands. The dislocation involved in immigration can also cause mental distress for other immigrants.
 - Most studies have found a very high proportion--as high as 70% to 90%--of immigrants, including undocumented Mexican immigrants, contribute to federal and state income tax, social security, and other taxes. At the same time, only a small proportion (about 30%) of undocumented immigrants file federal income tax reports at the end of the year, due to fear of detection, and therefore do not claim refunds they may be entitled to, because of their low income and number of dependents.
 - Despite the above findings on immigrant revenues, many county governments and the state have indicated that there is a net cost to them in providing services to immigrants. A major reason why state and local governments are expending more than they are receiving is that the bulk of tax revenues goes to the federal

government, while the costs of providing services rests at non-federal levels. For example, in California, 60% of the taxes paid in by undocumented immigrants go to the federal government, 30% to the state, and 10% to local governments.

- The average Mexican immigrant household in California receives \$2,000 more in state services and transfer payments than it pays in state taxes. However, two-thirds or more of California residents pay less in taxes--state and local--than they receive in services.
- The primary impact of continued high levels of immigration on public health and social services will be a continued imbalance in the net costs of providing these services. There will be a strong demand by state and local governments for federal assistance in providing these services, especially where large numbers of new immigrants locate. If the Simpson-Mazzoli bill passes, these costs could be even higher at the state and local levels, since there would be many newly-legalized immigrants who would be eligible for public assistance, and the bill as currently written places much of the cost of assistance on state and local governments.

PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION IMPACTS

- Differences exist in public transit use among recent immigrants, and nonimmigrants in the SCAG region. Over 18% of recent immigrant workers use transit as a primary means of commuting to work, compared with 4.5% of all nonimmigrants. However, of all workers combined, only 5.2% use transit, showing that the number of recent immigrants is much smaller in comparison with the remainder of the region's population.
- Factors contributing to differences in transit use probably include (1) language and cultural barriers, (2) vehicle availability, and (3) income. Specifically, the language barrier of many recent immigrants may act as a deterrent to using private vehicles, as could unfamiliarity with relatively new surroundings, and the possibility that transit was relied upon in their native countries. Vehicle availability and income strongly influence an individual's propensity to use public transit; over 21% of all recent immigrant households do not have a vehicle available, compared with 10% of nonimmigrant households. In terms of income, 25% of recent immigrant workers have incomes below \$10,000, compared with 11% of nonimmigrant workers.
- Demand for transit services is expected to increase over the next 20 years as the region grows by 3 million people, and as roadways become more congested by automobiles. The immigration scenarios could influence the size of this increase. The High Scenario could cause a relatively greater increase, inasmuch as most of the additional net growth to the region would be by immigrants who at least today show much higher transit usage patterns than nonimmigrants. On the other hand, the Low Scenario would be expected to cause slightly smaller increases in transit demand than otherwise expected, inasmuch as immigrants would comprise a smaller proportion of the future population growth than was even the case with the region's most recent growth.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL IMPACTS

- Immigration is causing noticeable changes in the social and cultural environment of the region, particularly in Los Angeles. These changes are apparent in the diversification and intensification of ethnic neighborhoods; new architectural and visual features; and the increased variety in the arts and culture, as well as ethnic cuisines.
- Many immigrants are choosing to retain their ethnic identity by preserving their customs and languages, leading to differences in rates of assimilation. Ethnic diversity has also led to conflicts among groups, and gradual shifts in the political balance of the region.
- Continued high rates of immigration to the region will probably result in further social and cultural changes, including: dual effects of increased concentration of ethnic cultures in some areas, and diffusion of groups to other areas; increased social exchange between ethnic groups at the same time that there is an increased potential for conflict; and desire for increased political power among certain ethnic groups.

II. INTRODUCTION

Recent immigration to the SCAG region is one of many major changes that is occurring in the region today. The new wave of immigration has been occurring since the 1970s. Between 1975 and 1980, for example, the 500,000 foreign immigrants coming to the region represented about 55% of the region's net growth during that period. According to the 1980 Census, nearly 20% of the region's total population was foreign-born. Recent data also indicates that since 1980, immigration has been occurring at even a higher annual average than during the 1970s.

The ethnic composition of the new immigration wave is different from earlier waves in that the majority of recent immigrants is Latin American and Asian (83%), and not European. A larger portion of the immigrants are also "undocumented" immigrants than was evident in earlier periods. Recent immigration has caused shifts in the overall ethnic composition of the region, making it truly more ethnically diverse. For example, Hispanics and Asians represented 30% of the 1980 population, compared with only 17% of the 1970 population; Non-Hispanic Whites represented 61% compared with 75% in 1970.

Immigration offers both opportunities and challenges for the region. The purpose of this report is to preliminarily examine: (1) selected characteristics of the current immigrant population as compared to the remainder of the population, and to discuss impacts that recent immigrants are having on the economic and social structures of the region, where known; and (2) potential implications or issues that different levels of future immigration could have for the region.

The focus is on recent immigrants as a group, but the report also looks at different ethnic subcomponents where appropriate, and where significant differences exist. The ethnic subcomponents are confined to four major Census-defined groups: Non-Hispanic (NH) Whites, Hispanics, Blacks, and Asians/Others, which are defined further on in this introduction.

ISSUES

The report examines the following factors and issues:

Economic Factors and Issues:

- What is the labor force profile and economic characteristics of present-day immigrants?
- What types of jobs are filled by immigrants?
- To what extent, if any, do immigrants cause job displacement of U.S. born workers, and lowering of wage levels within the regional economy?
- What impacts do immigrants have on public costs and revenues?

Public Education Factors and Issues:

- What portion of all school-age children do not speak English as a primary language and what effect is this having on public schools?
- What implications do future levels of immigration have on public school curricula needs?

Housing Factors and Issues:

- Are the housing patterns or preferences of current immigrants different from nonimmigrants?
- What implications could any current differences have for housing supply needs of future immigrants?

Public Health/Social Service Factors and Issues:

- What are the usage rates by immigrants of public health and social service/welfare programs?
- Does their use of these programs place a fiscal drain on local government?

Public Transportation Factors and Issues:

- Are there noticeable differences in public transit usage between immigrants and nonimmigrants?
- Could continued high levels of immigration imply any differences in public transportation needs from those already predicted?

Social/Cultural Factors and Issues:

- What is the nature of social interactions between immigrants and nonimmigrants?
- What are the acculturation patterns of recent immigrants?
- What impacts are immigrants having on political systems?
- How are recent immigrants affecting Southern California culture?

TODAY'S RECENT IMMIGRANTS

Data presented throughout the report on recent immigrants to the region is derived in part from special tabulations prepared by SCAG from the 1980 Census of Population and Housing, and the Census' Public Use Microdata Sample (PUMS). Immigrants are identified in the Census in two basic ways: 1980 population that is foreign-born, and 1980 foreign-born population that lived in another country as recently as 1975. For the purposes of this

report, the latter definition has been used because it focuses on recent immigrants, i.e., individuals from other countries living in the SCAG region for five years or less.

Three caveats need mentioning regarding the 1980 Census data that is presented: (1) The Census undercounts an unknown quantity of "illegal" immigrants who did not respond to the Census. This means that Census data presented on recent immigrants probably does not cover the entire recent immigrant population; (2) The Census data is examined at the regional level--not the county or subcounty level. Therefore, it masks the uneven settlement patterns + effects of recent immigrants (i.e., over 80 percent of recent immigrants reside in Los Angeles County, 13 percent in Orange County, and 7 percent in other SCAG region counties); and (3) Socioeconomic data on recent immigrants does not reflect changes that may occur in these characteristics over time, the longer that recent immigrants live in this country.

In addition to Census data, information on recent immigrants also comes from a preliminary sampling of research studies. Although generalized information has been published in the newspapers and magazines on today's recent immigrants, there still seems to be a shortage of definitive research studies. Many of the studies that do exist focus specifically on Mexican immigrants, and undocumented immigrants in particular; considerably fewer studies address other ethnic subgroups of immigrants.

There are also many gaps in the knowledge about recent immigrants, with many subject areas not having been addressed in research studies, or only partially. Also, many of the existing immigrant studies have been conducted in other areas of the country, and findings do not necessarily hold true for Southern California. Finally, several researchers have come up with differing, and sometimes opposing conclusions about immigrant impacts. This is particularly true in the case of immigrant impacts on the regional economy, and on public health/social services programs.

FUTURE IMMIGRANTS

As mentioned earlier, this report discusses not only the characteristics and impacts of today's recent immigrants to the SCAG region, but it also discusses potential economic and social impacts associated with future levels of immigration between 1980 and 2000.

Four scenarios of immigration are presented in the companion report; they are called "Low," "Moderate Low," "Moderate High," and "High." Each scenario would result in a different ethnic mix for the region in year 2000. For ease of analysis, this report only addresses impacts of the Low and High scenarios. The Low Scenario has legal immigration occurring below recent trends, and no undocumented immigration; immigration would represent 28% of net regional growth. The High Scenario has legal immigration continuing at current levels, and undocumented immigration occurring at the upper limit of an expected range; total immigration would represent 60% of positive regional growth.

Table II-1 summarizes amounts of immigration in each scenario, as well as the other components of regional growth from 1980 to 2000. For comparison, Table II-2 shows the amount of immigration and other components of growth for the time period 1975-1980. The ethnic composition and locational patterns of immigrants during 1975-1980 is also shown in Table II-3. Finally, Figure II-1 compares the overall ethnic mix of the region in 1980 with the mix that would result by year 2000 under the Low and High immigration scenarios (as well as the other two scenarios).

There are many inherent difficulties involved with determining impacts of future immigration. One difficulty is that in some areas we're not even sure what the current impacts of immigrants are. Another major difficulty is that it is unknown what the socioeconomic characteristics will be of future immigrants--characteristics such as education and income levels, labor skills, English-speaking ability and family structure. The four immigration scenarios only identify numbers of immigrants, their legal status and their ethnic and age composition. For this reason, this report assumes that tomorrow's immigrants will similar socioeconomic characteristics as recent immigrants who came to the region between 1975 and 1980. This is not necessarily a valid assumption, because the types of immigrants coming to the region in the future could be quite different in background from recent immigrants. However, lacking knowledge of what way future trends are likely to go, it was assumed that the safest projection would be a continuation of current 1975-1980 characteristics.

A final caveat is that it has not been possible in many cases to draw definitive or quantified conclusions about the impacts of future immigration scenarios. In most cases, we've only been able to discuss implications, pose a range of various outcomes that could occur, and/or identify questions or issues for which the answers are not conclusively apparent, and for which further study is needed.

In summary, this report is an overview, only. The whole topic of immigration and its present and future impacts on the economic and social structures of the region is an area ripe for more intensive study and analysis.

REPORT ORGANIZATION

The report is organized topically, covering the following subject areas:

- Economic
- Public Education
- Housing
- Public Health/Social Service Programs
- Public Transportation
- Social and Cultural

DEFINITION OF VARIOUS GROUPS

Throughout the report, the terms below are used extensively and are defined as follows:

Immigrants: These are recent immigrants from abroad who at the time of the 1980 Census gave their place of residence in 1975 as a foreign country.

Table II-1
Components of the SCAG Region's Growth
1980-2000
(000s)

Component	Low Immigration	High Immigration
Base Population Natural Increase ^(a)	1,653	1,372
Net Interregional Migration	473	-1,756
Legal Immigration ^(b)	1,051	1,560
Undocumented Immigration ^(b)	0	1,896
Total Net Population Growth	3,177	3,072

(a) Includes natural increase of in-migrants.

(b) Includes direct immigration and the subsequent natural increase of the immigrants. Excluding natural increase, the Low Scenario would have 880,000 immigrants over the 20-year period, and the High Scenario would have 2.8 million immigrants (both legal and undocumented).

Table II-2
Components of the SCAG Region's Growth
1975-1980
(000s)

Component	Change
Base Population Natural Increase	450,000
Net Interregional Migration ^(a)	-50,000
Immigration ^(b)	500,000
Total Net Population Growth	900,000

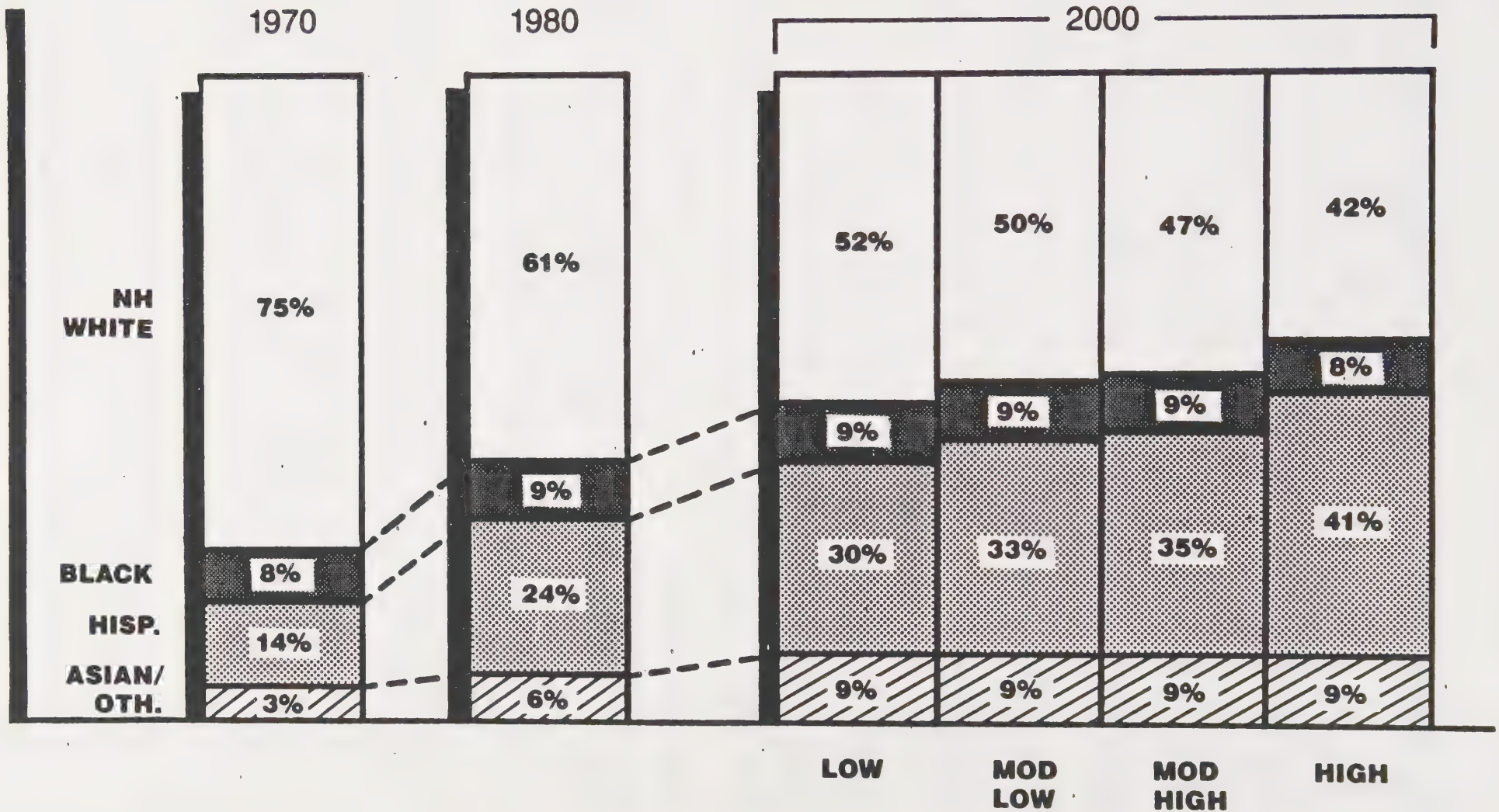
(a) Derived from taking Natural Increase and Immigration from Net Population Growth 1975-1980. The 1980 Census estimates that 1.15 million people migrated to the region from other parts of the U.S. during 1975-1980, meaning that even a greater amount of population moved out of the SCAG region.

(b) This figure only includes immigrants who moved to the SCAG region and were still living here in 1980; it does not include immigrants who moved here and subsequently moved out before 1980.

Table II-3
Ethnic Composition and Locational Patterns of Recent
Immigrants in SCAG Region
1980

<u>Group</u>	<u>Los Angeles County</u>	<u>Orange County</u>	<u>Remainder of Counties</u>	<u>Total</u>
NH White	71,600	9,240	5,600	86,440
Hispanic	206,360	26,720	18,520	251,600
Black	3,160	200	800	4,160
Asian/Other	119,280	27,560	8,240	155,080
All Immigrants	400,400	63,720	33,160	497,280

Figure II-1
Percent Distribution of Population
by Ethnic Group in the SCAG Region
1970-2000



They are foreign-born persons living in the U.S. for less than five years. They include both legal immigrants and undocumented immigrants.

Residents: These are persons who in 1980 gave their place of residence in 1975 as a location in the SCAG region. This group also includes immigrants and in-migrants (see definitions below) prior to 1975. The group is sometimes referred to as "base population" in this report and the accompanying one. In actuality, immigrants and in-migrants are residents, too, but in this report "residents" only refers to persons living in the SCAG region more than five years as of 1980.

In-Migrants: These are recent in-migrants who have migrated to the SCAG region from other areas of the U.S. since 1975.

Nonimmigrants: This group includes residents and recent in-migrants. It excludes recent immigrants.

NonHispanic White: The Census definition of "White" excluding those of Hispanic origin. Throughout the report, when reference is made to "White," it always means NonHispanic White.

Hispanic: The Census definition of "Spanish/Hispanic origin."

Black: The Census definition of "Black" excluding those of Hispanic origin.

Asian/Other: The Census definition of "Asian and Pacific Islander," "American Indian," "Eskimo," "Aleut" and the "Other" category.

FURTHER STUDY

This report provides a preliminary examination of immigrants and their impacts on the region. It could be expanded considerably in the following ways:

- All subject areas discussed in the report could be researched in further depth and breadth.
- Research could also be conducted on differences in immigrant impacts at the subregional level. The report only looks at regional impacts, which may seem to indicate that impacts occur evenly throughout the region. Yet, immigrants have typically concentrated in certain geographic areas of the region, and those areas have felt the effects of immigrants much more heavily than other areas. For example, today about 80% of all recent immigrants live in Los Angeles County, meaning that this county feels the bulk of recent immigration impacts. About 13% of the immigrants reside in Orange County, and the remainder in other SCAG counties.
- There are many additional topics pertaining to recent immigrants that could be researched (such as locational patterns, assimilation patterns, and crime).
- More research could be undertaken on comparative differences and similarities among ethnic subcomponents of recent immigrants.

There are three major sets of data that have only been examined preliminarily, and could be examined in much more depth to assist in the above-mentioned research:

1. 1980 Census Data -- SCAG has produced an extensive set of special tabulations of Census data relating to recent immigrants and different ethnic groups. Only a small part of this data has been analyzed and reflected in this report.
2. Research Literature -- Only a limited examination has been made of studies produced by academic and research institutes on recent immigrants. Most of the studies uncovered by SCAG pertained to Hispanic immigrants. Studies conducted on other immigrant subgroups would be highly useful to collect and review.
3. Data/Reports Produced by Public Agencies -- Additional primary data could be collected and analyzed from the various federal, state, and local governmental agencies that have data on recent immigrants, such as the U.S. Immigrant and Naturalization Service.

Finally, while this report focuses on recent immigrants from abroad, a wealth of research could be conducted on recent in-migrants from other parts of the U.S., as well as recent out-migrants. Today, these two groups represent much larger numbers than recent immigrants; for example, during 1975-1980, there were 1.15 million in-migrants to the SCAG region, compared with about 500,000 immigrants. Also, about 1.2 million residents left the region during this period.

Further study should be conducted which:

- (1) Examines the characteristics of individuals out-migrating from the region, where they are going, why they are going, and the resulting effects of the out-migration on the region.
- (2) Compares characteristics of recent in-migrants with recent out-migrants.

III. ECONOMIC IMPACTS

Historically, immigrant labor and the desire of immigrants to improve their economic condition have been important forces in the growth of the U.S. and California economies. In general, the entrepreneurial spirit, desire to become financially secure, willingness to work long and hard, and push to improve skills and education on the part of immigrants have contributed not only to their success, but also have made an overall positive contribution to the economy in which they work. The quantitative value of such contributions is difficult to measure, as are the related impacts and effects of immigrants on wage levels, working conditions, job security, savings, and spending rates, generation of new or increased foreign trade and economic activity. It is possible, however, to identify certain demographic and economic characteristics of immigrants as they might affect or impact the regional economy.

This chapter discusses the economic implications of varying scenarios of immigration and ethnic growth in the SCAG region from 1980 through the year 2000. The first part focuses on the existing regional economy and economic characteristics of the 1980 residential population, as defined by the 1980 Census. This population is divided into three groups: recent immigrants from abroad, recent in-migrants from other parts of the U.S., and residents in the SCAG region longer than five years. The second part addresses four key economic issues relating to immigration, and in the last part, economic implications and issues are considered and compared for the SCAG region under the High and Low immigration scenarios.

A. CURRENT ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

The analysis of 1980 U.S. Census socio-economic characteristics considers differences and similarities among immigrants, residents, and in-migrant groups (based on 1975 place of residence). The following key characteristics are examined:

- (1) Educational attainment (as an indication of skill level)
- (2) Occupation by major category
- (3) Occupation by minor category
- (4) Income distribution
- (5) Labor force status

1. Educational Attainment

As shown in the table that follows, educational attainment levels vary among the three groups and presumably reflect general employment skill levels of potential labor force members.

Table III-1 generally indicates that residents and in-migrants had higher levels of educational attainment than recent immigrants: 65.4% of all in-migrants and 56.0% of all 1975 SCAG region residents had at least a high school education. This compares with only 36.7% of the immigrant population that had completed a secondary education. This is not only a good general

Table III-1
Highest Level of Educational Attainment in %
SCAG Region, 1980

Group	None	Elem	F. Elem	HS	FHS	Col	F. Col	Total
Immigrants	4.3	40.3	2.8	15.9	12.0	13.6	11.1	100%
In-migrants	0.8	19.0	1.7	13.1	20.2	24.6	20.6	100%
Residents	1.0	21.7	2.7	18.6	23.0	21.4	11.6	100%
Total	1.1	22.0	2.6	17.9	22.4	21.4	12.6	100%

Elem -- Some Elementary

F. Elem -- Finished Elementary

HS -- Some High School

FHS -- Finished High School

Col -- Some College

FCol -- Finished College

indicator of varying skill levels among these groups, but also implies that immigrants (at least those who responded to the 1980 Census) are generally well- educated, even by current U.S. standards.

Table III-2 illustrates educational attainment for immigrants in various ethnic groups. Hispanic immigrants, by far the largest group, had significantly lower levels of educational attainment. Over 60 percent of Hispanic immigrants had not completed elementary school; this compares with only 45 percent for all immigrants (and 23 percent of residents). Likewise, only

Table III-2
Highest Level of Educational Attainment of Immigrants in %
SCAG Region, 1980, by Ethnic Group

Group	None	Elem	F. Elem	HS	FHS	Col	F. Col	Total
NH White	2.6	20.5	2.5	15.8	19.9	20.8	17.9	100%
Hispanic	5.6	56.7	3.9	16.9	8.2	6.4	2.3	100%
Black	0.0	18.3	1.0	17.3	16.3	37.5	9.6	100%
Asian/Other	3.2	25.3	1.4	14.3	13.5	20.7	21.6	100%
Total Immigrants	4.3	40.3	2.8	15.9	12.0	13.6	11.1	100%

17 percent of Hispanic immigrants were high school or college graduates compared with over 35 percent for all immigrants (and 56 percent of existing residents in 1980). Black (63%), Asian/Other (56%), and Non-Hispanic White (59%) immigrants had significantly higher levels of high school and/or graduation than Hispanics.

2. Occupational Status

Table III-3 and Figure III-1 present information on 1980 regional labor force occupational status for major occupation categories. It indicates what percentage of the labor force considers themselves to be in each occupational category. The table shows that immigrant workers tend to be concentrated in the laborer, sales, and service occupations. Only 13 percent of immigrants are in the executive and professional categories--low compared to the resident and in-migrant populations (23% and 28%, respectively). This could be due to the generally lower educational attainment of the immigrant group (shown in Table III-1). Resident worker population is concentrated in the sales, executive/professional and laborer categories. The in-migrant population has a high percentage in the sales (33.7%) and executive/professional (28.5%) categories. Relatively few in-migrants were in the lower skilled occupations such as laborers, service, or production workers, implying the existence of jobs awaiting this group before moving to the region.

Table III-4 illustrates the occupational status by major occupation groups for immigrants in various ethnic groups. Hispanic immigrants were concentrated in the laborer (45.9%) and service (22.7%) occupational categories. Hispanics were under-represented in the executive/professional (3.3%) and sales (9.3%) categories when compared with the overall immigrant population. The other ethnic groups were concentrated in the higher skilled executive/professional and sales occupational categories.

Table III-5 presents occupation for minor occupation categories. This table gives a more detailed breakdown of the occupation distribution for the various groups. The data again shows that immigrant workers tend to be concentrated in the lower skilled job categories such as operators (22.9%), service workers (15.5%) and clerical workers (11.2%). The resident population is dominated by the clerical occupational category (19.2%) with a fairly even distribution among executive, professional, sales and service. The in-migrant group is also concentrated in the clerical category (18.3%) with sizable representations in executive and professional occupations.

Table III-6 presents occupation for minor occupation groups for immigrants into the SCAG region. Hispanics again were concentrated in the lower skilled occupations categories such as operatives (32.4%) and service workers (18.6%). This is illustrated by the large concentration of Hispanic immigrant workers in the garment and hotel/restaurant industries of Southern California. Other ethnic groups had above average representation in clerical, executive, and professional (white collar) categories. These groups had significantly fewer people in the operative and service categories.

3. Income Distribution

Table III-7 and Figure III-2 present the household income distribution for families residing in the region in 1980. The household incomes of the immigrant population are significantly lower than those for residents and in-migrants: More than 50 percent of immigrants had household incomes of less than \$15,000 compared to approximately 30 percent for residents and 35 percent for in-migrants. Likewise, only 23.7 percent of immigrants had incomes over \$25,000 compared with 43.5 percent for residents and 38.8 percent for in-migrants. The lower household incomes for immigrants are consistent with their lower educational attainment and lower skilled occupational levels, as well as the generally prevailing lower wage rates in their country of origin as compared with Southern California.

Table III-8 presents the 1980 household income distribution of immigrants in the SCAG region by ethnic category. Hispanics (54.8%) and Blacks (51.9%) are slightly more concentrated in the lower income ranges (under \$15,000) than the Asian/Other (43.8%) and NH White (49%). NH Whites and Asians/Others are somewhat more concentrated in the upper income category (\$35,000), but there is relatively little difference in income distribution among ethnic groups relative to the overall immigrant population. Major differences appear primarily between the immigrant and resident populations, as discussed above.

4. Labor Force Status

Labor force participation rates for the civilian non-institutional population groups are shown in Table III-9. As can be seen, in-migrants have the highest labor force participation rates (72.3%). This could be an indication that many of them migrated to California to take specific jobs. It could also be related to the fact that in-migrants have higher levels of educational attainment, which is very closely correlated to labor force participation.

Table III-10 presents labor force participation status for immigrants--16 years of age and older in the SCAG region. It indicates that labor force participation rates (LFRP) for Hispanics and Blacks are significantly higher than other ethnic groups and the overall immigrant population. The high participation rate for Hispanics may indicate that they came here primarily for economic/employment reasons and would be more likely to actively participate in the labor force, whereas the significantly higher age distribution of NH White and Asians/Others and their considerably lower LFPRs suggest that these groups tend to immigrate less for employment or economic reasons than the other two ethnic groups.

Table III-3
Major Occupation Groups as a % of Labor Force
SCAG Region, 1980

Group	AFor	Exec	Farm	Labor	Prod	Sales	Serv	Total
Immigrants	0.1	13.3	3.7	32.7	12.2	20.0	18.0	100%
In-Migrants	3.0	28.5	1.1	11.7	10.1	33.7	11.9	100%
Residents	0.2	22.9	1.8	16.7	12.1	33.3	13.0	100%
Total	0.5	23.2	1.8	16.8	11.9	32.7	13.1	100%

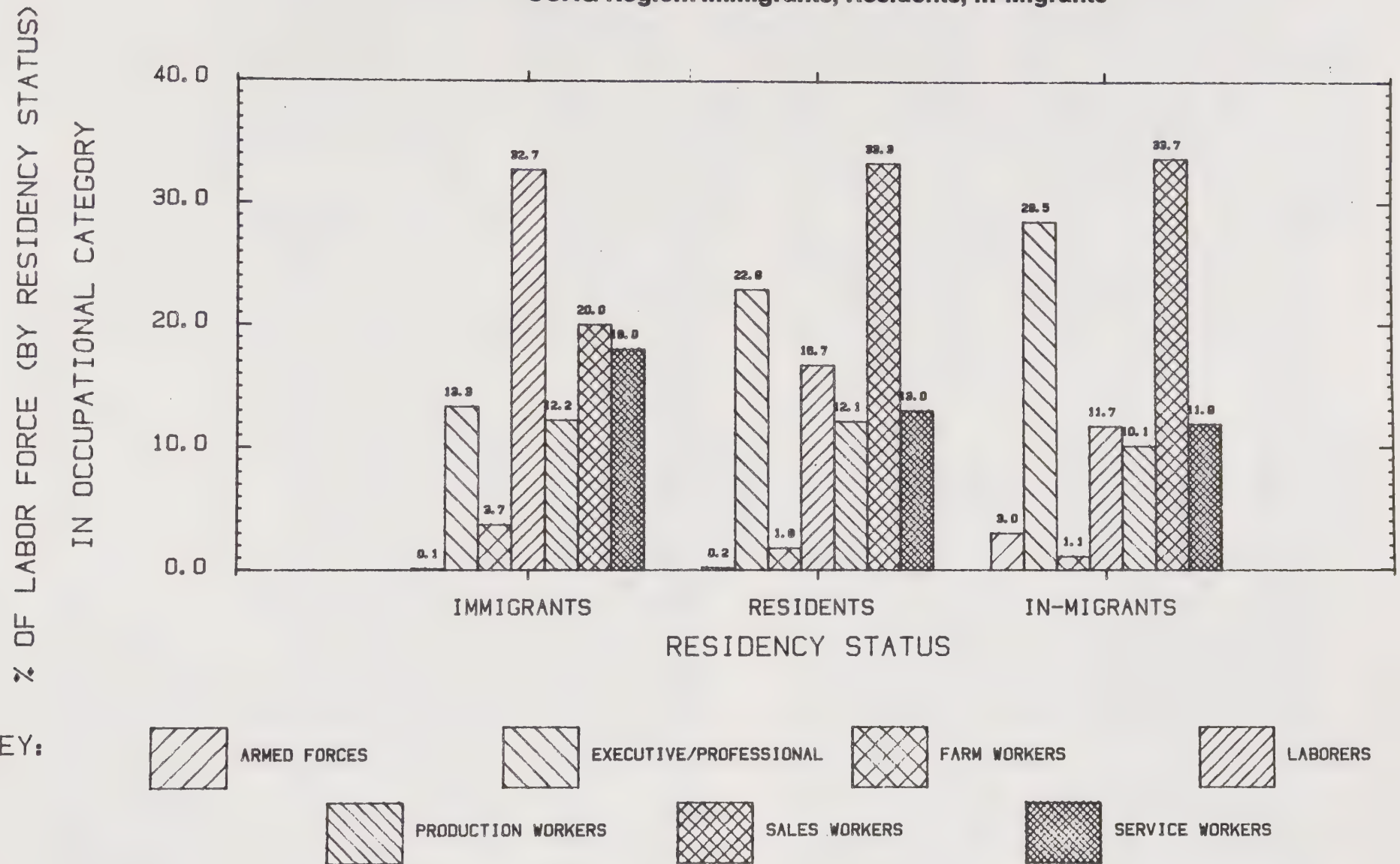
Table III-4
Major Occupation Groups of Immigrants as a % of Labor Force
SCAG Region, 1980, By Ethnic Group

Group	AFor	Exec	Farm	Labor	Prod	Sales	Serv	Total
NH White	0.3	29.8	0.9	14.4	14.0	29.8	10.8	100.0
Hispanic	0.1	3.3	5.6	45.9	13.1	9.3	22.7	100.0
Black	0.0	16.4	1.6	8.2	14.8	37.7	21.3	100.0
Asian/Other	0.0	21.5	2.1	20.1	9.3	33.2	13.8	100.0
Total Immigrants	0.1	13.3	3.7	32.7	12.2	20.0	18.0	100.0

AFor -- Armed Forces
 Exec -- Executive and Professional
 Farm -- Farm Workers
 Labor -- Laborers
 Prod -- Operatives and Production Workers
 Serv -- Service Workers

Figure III-1

**1980 Labor Force Occupational Distribution
SCAG Region: Immigrants, Residents, In-Migrants**



1980 Census, controlling for 1975 residence.

Table III-5
Minor Occupation Groups as a % of Regional Labor Force
SCAG Region, 1980

Group	AF	C. Labor	Clerk	Const	Exec	Farm	HHW
Immigrants	0.1	0.9	11.2	3.3	6.1	3.7	2.3
In-Migrants	3.0	0.4	18.3	3.9	12.8	1.1	0.5
Residents	0.2	0.7	19.2	3.9	11.2	1.8	0.7
Total	0.5	0.7	18.8	3.9	11.2	1.8	0.7
	Labor	Mech	Oper	Prod	Prof	Prot	
Immigrants	6.7	3.0	22.9	5.9	7.1	0.3	
In-Migrants	2.6	2.8	6.1	3.3	15.8	1.1	
Residents	3.7	3.3	8.7	4.9	11.7	1.4	
Total	3.7	3.2	9.0	4.7	12.0	1.4	
	Sales	Serv	Tech	Transp	Total		
Immigrants	6.2	15.5	2.7	2.2	100%		
In-Migrants	11.4	10.2	4.0	2.7	100%		
Residents	11.3	10.9	2.8	3.6	100%		
Total	11.1	11.0	2.9	3.4	100%		

AF -- Armed Forces

C. Labor -- Construction Laborers

Clerk -- Clerical

Exec -- Executive, Administrative, Managerial

HHW -- Private Household Workers

Mech --Mechanics and Repairers

Oper -- Machine Operators and Inspectors

Prod -- Precision Production, Craft and Repair

Prot -- Protective Services

Transp -- Transportation and Material Movers

Table III-6
Minor Occupation Groups of Immigrants as a % of Labor Force
SCAG Region, 1980, by Ethnic Group

Group	AF	C. Labor	Clerk	Const	Exec	Farm	HHW	Labor	Mech
NH White	0.3	0.6	15.1	3.4	12.8	0.9	0.4	2.9	3.7
Hispanic	0.0	1.5	5.9	4.2	1.5	5.6	3.9	9.7	3.0
Black	0.0	1.6	23.0	3.3	8.2	1.6	0.0	1.6	4.9
Asian/Other	0.0	0.0	18.3	1.4	10.6	2.1	0.4	3.6	2.6
Total Immigrants	0.1	0.9	11.2	3.3	6.1	3.7	2.3	6.7	3.0
Group	Oper	Prod	Prof	Prot	Sales	Serv	Tech	Transp	Total
NH White	7.8	7.0	17.1	0.3	10.8	10.0	3.9	3.0	100.0
Hispanic	32.4	5.9	1.8	0.2	3.1	18.6	0.3	2.4	100.0
Black	4.9	6.6	8.2	0.0	6.6	21.3	8.2	0.0	100.0
Asian/Other	15.5	5.3	10.8	0.4	8.7	13.1	6.2	1.0	100.0
Total Immigrants	22.9	5.9	7.1	0.3	6.1	15.5	2.7	2.2	100.0

AF -- Armed Forces
C. Labor -- Construction Laborers
Clerk -- Clerical
Exec -- Executive, Administrative,
Managerial
HHW -- Private Household Workers

Mech -- Mechanics and Repairers
Oper -- Machine Operators and Inspectors
Prod -- Precision Production, Craft and Repair
Prof -- Professional
Prot -- Protective Services
Transp -- Transportation and Material Movers

Table III-7
1980 Household Income Distribution of SCAG Region Households in %
(\$000s)

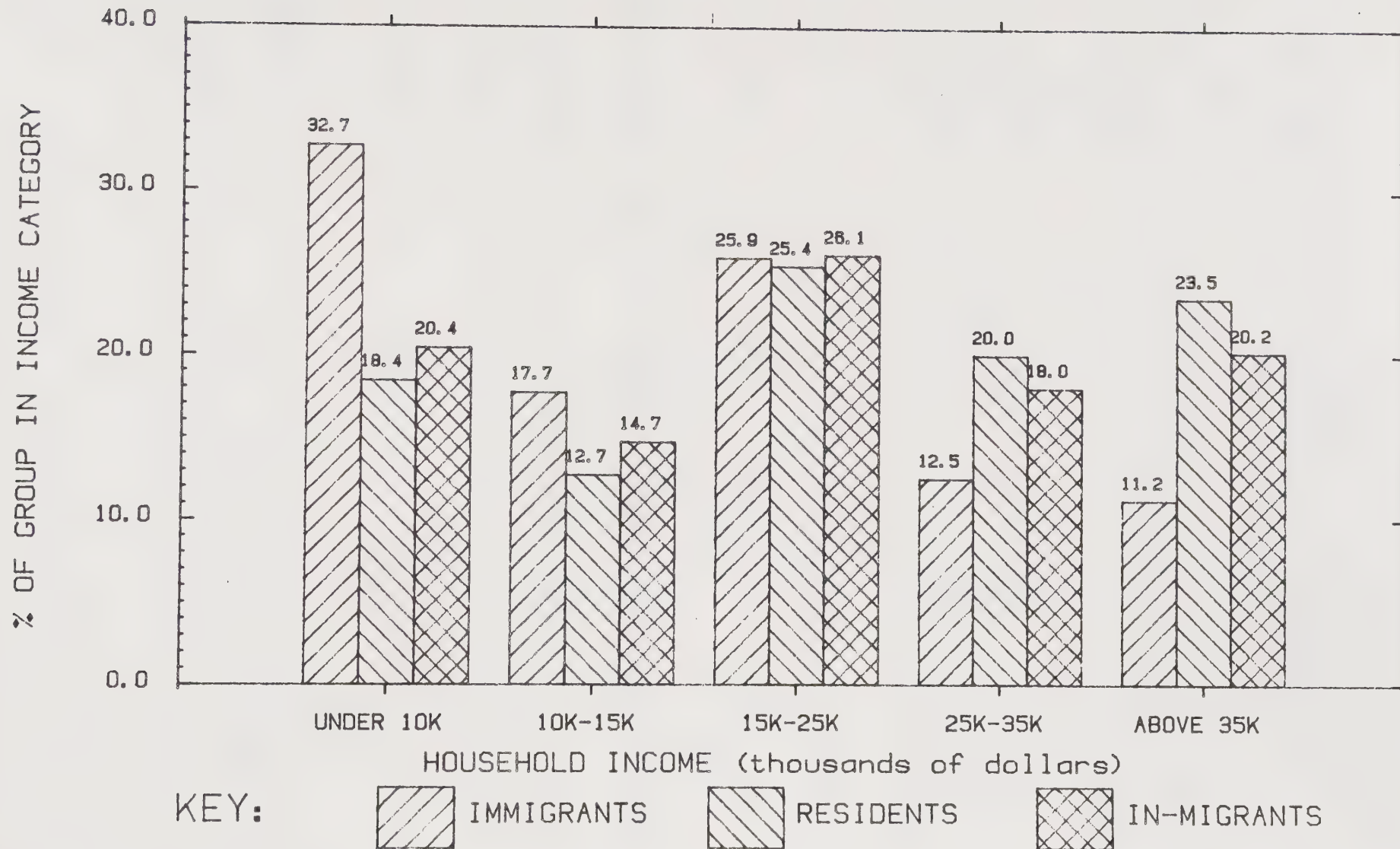
Group	Under \$10	\$10 - \$15	\$15 - \$25	\$25 - \$35	\$35 +
Immigrants	32.7	17.7	25.9	12.5	11.2
In-Migrants	20.4	14.7	26.1	18.0	20.2
Residents	18.4	12.7	25.4	20.0	23.5
Total	19.3%	13.1%	25.5%	19.5%	22.6%

Table III-8
1980 Household Income Distribution of SCAG Region Immigrant Households in %
(\$000s)

Group	Under \$10	\$10 - \$15	\$15 - \$25	\$25 - \$35	\$35 +
NH White	35.3	13.7	20.1	14.2	16.7
Hispanic	32.7	22.1	28.6	10.0	6.6
Black	40.4	11.5	37.5	4.8	5.8
Asian/Other	30.9	12.9	24.5	15.9	15.8
Total Immigrants	32.7%	17.7%	25.9%	12.5%	11.2%

01-111

Figure III-2
1980 Household Income Distribution — SCAG Region
Immigrants, Residents, and In-Migrants



1980 Census, controlling for 1975 residence.

Table III-9
1980 Labor Force Status of Population — 16 Years of Age and Over
SCAG Region

<u>Group</u>	<u>Labor Force Participation Rate</u>
Immigrants	62.0
In-Migrants	72.3
Residents	64.8
Overall Average	65.5

Table III-10
1980 Labor Force Status of Immigrants — 16 Years of Age and Over
SCAG Region

<u>Group</u>	<u>Labor Force Participation Rate</u>
NH White	52.4%
Hispanic	69.3%
Black	65.5%
Asian/Other	55.5%
All Immigrants	62.0%

B. CURRENT ECONOMIC ISSUES RELATING TO IMMIGRATION

Four key issues/impacts are discussed in this section. They are: (1) types of jobs typically occupied by immigrants; (2) potential job displacement of U.S.-born workers by immigrants; (3) the possibility of lower wages caused by large-scale immigration; and (4) impacts of immigrants on public costs and revenues. The discussion focuses particularly on recent Mexican and Hispanic immigrants, since Mexico and Central America are the largest source region of immigrants into the SCAG region and since the majority of previous research has been done in this area.

1. Types of Jobs Occupied by Immigrants

Mexican immigrants hold unskilled and skilled jobs in virtually every sector of the region's economy. Most Hispanic immigrants are employed in unskilled or semi-skilled occupations such as laborers, machine operators, and truck drivers. As shown in Table III-2, only 13.3 percent of immigrants are employed in the executive/professional category. According to The Fourth Wave report by the Urban Institute, one out of two Mexicans in Los Angeles County work in manufacturing, one out of five in service jobs and one out of nine in restaurants and retail stores. (Muller, 1984:9). Some of the sectors most dependent on immigrant Hispanic labor are: the garment industry, restaurants, hotels and motels, hospitals and convalescent homes, and manufacturers of furniture, mobile homes, shoes and other leather products. (Razo, 1982, V. Garcia, 1982). In addition, a significant number are self-employed entrepreneurs.

Two general trends can be observed about Hispanic employment patterns. First, there has been a massive shift out of agriculture and to a lesser extent out of construction industries into urban services, light manufacturing and retail commerce. Second, there has been a shift in employment away from large-scale business into the small business sector. (Cornelius, 1982).

2. Job Displacement

The extent to which immigrant labor competes with and takes jobs away from U.S.-born workers is an area of considerable controversy. Because there is no consensus on this issue among researchers, a range of major viewpoints are presented here as represented by the following three sources:

The Fourth Wave Report - Urban Institute, by Thomas Muller, 1984

Although Hispanic workers filled a large proportion of jobs added during past decade, particularly in manufacturing, there is no indication that work opportunities for non-immigrants lessened. The report states that there were no significant job losses for other groups because:

- (1) White collar Asians complemented low-skilled, blue collar workers, creating a balanced increase and fostering economic expansion.
- (2) The influx of unskilled workers enabled the number of professional and skilled jobs to grow.

- (3) The immigrants created additional jobs by their presence because of the dollars they spent in the area.

The high overall unemployment rate of recent years was attributed to the weak national economy, but high rates affecting Mexican workers could well have been at least partially related to continuing immigration during a period of labor surplus.

Mexican Immigrants and Southern California. A Summary of Current Knowledge by Wayne Cornelius, Leo Chavez, Jorge Castro, Center for US-Mexican Studies, University of California at San Diego.

This report concludes that no scientific study has been able to document direct job competition between resident and immigrant or undocumented workers on a large-scale basis in California. While at a national level, substantial numbers of non-immigrants are employed in low-skilled jobs, the picture is different in California: Hispanic (primarily Mexican) undocumented immigrants tend to constitute a majority of the work force in certain categories, especially garment workers (62%) and dishwashers and busboys (86%). The report points out that U.S. workers in general do not want jobs occupied by illegals. It cites an example of a factory raid where illegal workers were replaced by U.S.-born workers. The retention rates for U.S. workers were so low that within months the proportion of undocumented immigrant workers had risen to its former level, even in firms paying more than the minimum wage. Wage scales were not the only factor influencing citizen preference for immigrant-held jobs. The majority of these jobs held: (1) little long-term job security; (2) no real career ladder; (3) little or no social status; and (4) involved dirty, boring and repetitious tasks. Other jobs were stigmatized over the years by association with Mexican labor that are avoided by young labor market entrants.

Another factor cited by the report as resulting in minimal job displacement is that bi-national Mexican kinship networks channel new migrants directly into jobs/firms where Mexican labor predominates. This has the effect of reducing competition between Mexican migrants and U.S.-born workers for the same jobs. There is also a clear division of labor between Mexican workers, Chicanos and other U.S.-born minority workers, and Anglos. Non-immigrant applicants are channeled into different job categories with different skill requirements. Much of the job competition is between different segments of the Mexican population. Significant differences exist among Mexican farm labor in Ventura County between young, temporary undocumented workers recruited by professional labor contractors, and an upper segment of higher paid farmer braceros often under union contract. (Mines and Montoya, 1982).

Immigration Reform: The Costs of Foreign Workers in the United States as They Displace American Workers on the Job. A Review and Assessment of Evidence, by Dr. Donald Huddle, Professor of Economics, Rice University, 1984.

A third point of view on job displacement is held by Dr. Donald Huddle of Rice University. Whereas the Urban Institute and Cornelius et al. tend to minimize the adverse impact of undocumented workers, Huddle contends that

they pose a serious threat to the U.S.-born labor force. He says that the view that illegals do not take jobs away from Americans is an outmoded myth which is no longer viable. Huddle states that employers prefer undocumented workers not only because they are more docile and exploitable but also because they can avoid paying personal and FICA taxes on them. This can reduce their labor costs by one-third and substantially increase their profit margins at the expense of the public and U.S. worker. His research indicates that American workers do want the jobs held by undocumented. Dr. Huddle's study indicates that two Americans lose their jobs for every three undocumented workers who reside and work in the United States.

Professor Huddle takes a closer look at the INS's 1982-83 "Project Jobs," which other experts have considered a failure because the American workers hired to replace the deported undocumented workers did not remain on the job. He says that, in fact, seven American workers applied for each vacated position and 80% of the job openings were filled with local citizen or legal workers. His survey of firms in the Houston area raided by the INS indicated that many of the replacement workers did remain on the job, especially for the higher paid positions.

3. The Effect of Large-Scale Immigration On Wage Levels in Southern California

The following are some viewpoints expressed on the effects of immigration on wage levels:

The Fourth Wave Report - Urban Institute, by Thomas Muller

The study suggests that the limited downward impact on wages by immigrants is most notable in the manufacturing sector, particularly among production workers in industries where wages have been traditionally low, such as apparel production, and in low-wage industries such as restaurants, personal services and hotels. Wages in other sectors of the economy where lower levels of immigrants are typically employed rose as fast or faster than the national average. The view in this study is that immigrant workers--not resident workers-- have absorbed much of the adverse impact of depressed wages. Lower wages did not always reflect lower productivity; where productivity did fall, it fell relatively less than production costs. The net result was to preserve the area's net advantage in manufacturing and to moderately increase profit margins.

Mexican Immigrants and Southern California: A Summary of Current Knowledge, by Cornelius, Chavez, and Castro

Cornelius, et al. mention the Maram Study (1982) as an example of the impact of large numbers of undocumented immigrants on wage levels. In the Los Angeles garment industry, 41 percent of undocumented Mexican garment workers reported making less than the minimum wage. Only 7 percent of those workers earned more than \$4.00 an hour. Twenty-one percent of undocumented workers in Los Angeles restaurants were paid less than the minimum wage and only 8 percent earned more than \$4.00/hour. (Maram, 1982). Garment industry wages were most depressed in small "garment contractor" firms (with less than 50 employees). These are firms doing the basic sewing of garments on a piece-

meal basis. The contractors who use large numbers of newcomers bid down wages in the industry.

4. Public Costs and Revenues

A 1976 study (Characteristics of Illegal Aliens in the U.S. Labor Market, by North and Houston) of undocumented immigrants contains some interesting data on their potential impact on public costs and revenues. They found on the revenue side that 77.3 percent of undocumented immigrants had social security taxes withheld, 73.2 percent had federal income taxes withheld, 44.0 percent had hospitalization insurance payments deducted, and 31.5 percent filed U.S. income tax returns. Undocumented immigrant use of tax-supported programs was much more limited: 27.4 percent of the sample group used hospitals and clinics; 3.9 percent collected unemployment insurance, and only 3.7 percent had children in U.S. schools. (Houston and North, 1976).

The Fourth Wave report indicates that California State taxes paid by Mexican immigrant households are slightly more than half the level paid by the average California household. The average Mexican immigrant household receives more in state services and transfer payments than it pays in taxes, as does approximately two-thirds of California's resident household population according to this study. About two-thirds of the deficit is attributable to low income (and, thus, low tax contributions); the other third is due to the fact that immigrants have larger families and, thus, a relatively large number of children in public schools. (Urban Institute, Thomas Muller: 1984).

See Chapter VI of this report dealing with health and social services impacts for a more comprehensive treatment of this topic.

C. ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS/IMPACTS OF FUTURE IMMIGRATION SCENARIOS

1. Employment and the Regional Economy

The preceding sections have examined 1980 Census socio-economic characteristics of the immigrant, resident and in-migrant populations. Issues relating to job displacement, lowering of wages and public costs and revenues as they affect the existing population have been discussed. This section considers potential long-range economic impacts under the High and Low immigration scenarios, as described and defined in the accompanying report.

The High Scenario, with almost 2.8 million additional documented and undocumented immigrants entering the SCAG region before the Year 2000, would tend to accentuate the economic impacts on labor force characteristics, wages, productivity, etc., discussed previously. Under this scenario not only would there be 1.5 million more undocumented immigrants, but there would be a significant inter-regional net out-migration of people from this region to other parts of the U.S. (1.8 million people). A certain percentage of the out-migration could be due to high housing costs and other negative factors associated with the SCAG region. The higher out-migration might also result from severe lowering of wages and/or job displacement caused by excessively high levels of undocumented immigration. While there is little substantive data or agreement on these issues, they could possibly exert an influence on out-migration rates and net migration patterns.

The Low Scenario could have significantly different economic impacts than the High Scenario. Since all immigration (by assumption) would be legal (880,000), there would be substantially less chance of the lowering of wages or severe job displacement; however, there could be substantial labor supply shortages as a result, depending on future world and national economic conditions. Under this scenario, there would be a net in-migration of 473,000 from other parts of the United States and no net out-migration. This indicates that additional jobs created would likely be filled by U.S. workers and legal immigrants rather than undocumented workers. Also, since legal immigrants tend to have higher occupational and skills levels, their impact would be less severe on the unskilled blue collar segment of the labor force.

2. Other Issues and Implications Which Merit Future Discussion and Research

Previous sections have examined a variety of viewpoints on the more controversial long-term economic implications of immigration. Most potential economic impacts cannot, at this time, be predicted or even precisely defined because of a lack of consensus, reliable data and/or detailed previous study of these issues. Among the most controversial issues which need further study before generalized conclusions can be drawn are:

Job Displacement Effects --

- (a) To what extent does immigrant labor take jobs away from U.S. workers? Does job displacement occur in skilled as well as unskilled jobs? Are immigrants actually less skilled than resident workers or less trainable?
- (b) Given the opportunity, would U.S. workers take jobs currently held by immigrants and illegals? Or are the jobs too poorly paid and with such unsatisfactory working conditions that U.S. workers would not be interested?
- (c) Does the existence of a regional low-wage, low-skilled immigrant labor force tend to create new jobs and labor-intensive economic activities? Would these local jobs even exist in the absence of low-wage immigrant workers or would they be moved abroad to "offshore" low-wage production centers?
- (d) Could worsening economic conditions (e.g. severe recession) make low-skilled jobs held by immigrants more attractive to resident workers? Would changing labor demand flood the labor market with immigrant workers causing future displacement of U.S.-born workers?

Wage Depression Effects --

- (a) Are wages in occupational categories dominated by immigrant workers significantly lower? Is this due to the immigrants' presence or the nature of the work (usually unskilled with undesirable conditions).
- (b) Does the presence of large numbers of unskilled, undocumented workers depress wages throughout the economy or only in occupational categories

where those workers are concentrated?

- (c) Does the SCAG region economy benefit (especially relative to other regions) from the lower wages generally paid to immigrant workers, which creates higher wage-productivity rates and results in lower comparative product and service costs?

Other Issues Requiring Further Study:

(a) Labor Vs. Capital-Intensive Activities --

Would the existence of a large, unskilled regional labor force encourage retention and development of labor-intensive industries in the SCAG region? How might this influence current trends toward technology-intensive goods and service production? How might this impact long-term economic competitiveness?

(b) Labor Productivity --

Are undocumented workers and immigrants more productive than the average U.S. born worker? Do they tend to work harder and longer than resident workers, resulting in high productive output?

(c) Public Revenue and Service Demands --

Do undocumented workers and immigrants pay more in taxes than they receive in services? On which public services do they create the greatest demand? How does the younger age structure of immigrants impact revenue generation and service costs?

(d) Working Conditions and Standards --

What impacts do immigrant workers have on working conditions? Do they tolerate unpleasant or dangerous conditions to a degree that it affects conditions for resident workers?

(e) Saving and Consumption Patterns --

Do immigrants have significantly higher rates of savings and investment propensity? How might this affect saving and consumption multiplier factors in the region?

(f) Capital Formation and Distribution --

Do middle and upper income immigrants bring, attract and invest foreign capital into the regional economy? Do immigrants and undocumented workers tend to spend and save in the local economy or do they send most accumulated capital back to their country of origin?

(g) Labor Supply --

Will the declining size of the U.S. resident labor force (due to demographic factors) affect labor supply in the SCAG region? Will immigration (both legal and undocumented) into the region of foreign workers

be necessary to meet regional labor market demands by the Year 2000?

(h) Ethnic/Racial Differentiation --

Do the economic effects of immigration (both legal and undocumented) and in-migration vary according to country of origin or ethnic/racial group? How does the ethnic/racial composition of immigration affect the economic characteristics and propensities of existing resident populations?

(i) Migration Status --

What differential economic effects are created by legal immigrants, undocumented immigrants, and in-migrants from other regions or states within the U.S.? What implications should this have for national immigration policies, quotas, and economic plans? To what extent should special economic conditions and comparative advantage in the region (e.g., proximity to the Mexican labor force, position on Pacific Rim, diversified local economy, strong export-base) influence national immigration policies (or vice-versa)?

(j) Trade Stimulation --

Does the existence of large numbers of immigrants tend to stimulate foreign trade in the region and increase the demand abroad for American-made products through increased familiarity and buying power? How are foreign trade patterns (especially the ratio of exports-to-imports) affected by the resident immigrant population?

IV. PUBLIC EDUCATION IMPACTS

Schools in the United States have long been an agent of acculturation for immigrants of diverse ethnic backgrounds and languages. Today, in the SCAG region, educational systems have the challenge of dealing with the numerous languages spoken by immigrant children, as exemplified by the more than 80 languages represented in the Los Angeles Unified School District (Spencer, 1984). Cultural differences, socioeconomic status, and housing segregation patterns are also quickly reflected in the schools. All of these factors can adversely affect the performance of students and the ability of schools to educate. At the same time, the inflow of immigrant children into the schools, and increasing ethnic diversity within the schools, offers the opportunity for schools to become the arena for cultural enrichment, exchange, and tolerance among our region's younger population.

The following section focuses primarily on existing language characteristics of both immigrant school-age children and the adult immigrant population in the SCAG region. Data on both groups is taken from the 1980 Census, augmented by State Department of Education and local school district records. This data, and a discussion of current education-related issues, form the basis for an assessment of the possible effects of immigration to Southern California from 1980 to 2000 on public education curricula needs.

A. CURRENT (1980) EDUCATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS

1. School-Age Population

Nearly 2 million students were registered in public elementary and secondary schools in the SCAG region in 1980, almost half the state's total enrollment (California State Department of Education, 1981). In addition about 275,000 students were enrolled in private schools (California State Department of Education, 1980). School-age population in the SCAG region totalled 2,369,820 and comprised about 21% of the total population. Immigrant children comprised about 5% of total regional school-age population and enrollments, but because many immigrants are concentrated in the Los Angeles County area, the proportion of immigrant children to all children in that area is considerably higher than the regional percentage. Certain school districts within Los Angeles County have higher proportions of immigrant students than others. The ethnic distribution of school-age immigrants (ages 5 through 17) enrolled in public and private schools in the SCAG region is shown in Table IV-1, and graphically presented in Figure IV-1. The ethnic distribution of all enrolled students between the ages of 5 and 17 is shown in Table IV-2.

School systems have the task of educating the large numbers of children with languages other than English as their primary language. Table IV-3 shows enrollment by language of Limited English Program (LEP) students in the Los Angeles Unified School District in 1981-82; at that time, 22% of the total district enrollment of 536,142 was not proficient in English. Spanish was by far the most predominant language represented in the program, followed by Asian languages, and Armenian. This distribution is fairly representative of the non-English languages spoken in the region as a whole, although there is a greater concentration in Los Angeles County.

Table IV-1
Immigrant School-Age¹ Enrollment in Public
and Private Schools in the SCAG Region,
by Ethnic Group, 1980²

Ethnic Group	Immigrant Enrollment in Public Schools	Ethnic Group as % of Immigrants Enrolled in Public Schools	Immigrant Enrollment in Private Schools	Ethnic Group as % of Immigrants Enrolled in Private Schools	Total	Ethnic group as % of Total Immigrant Enrollment
NH White	13,200	13.5%	2,920	42.0%	16,120	15.4%
Hispanic	48,840	49.8%	1,720	24.7%	50,560	48.2%
Black	640	0.7%	200	2.9%	840	0.8%
Asian/ Other	35,360	36.1%	2,120	30.5%	37,480	35.7%
TOTAL	98,040	100.0%	6,960	100.0%	105,000	100.0%

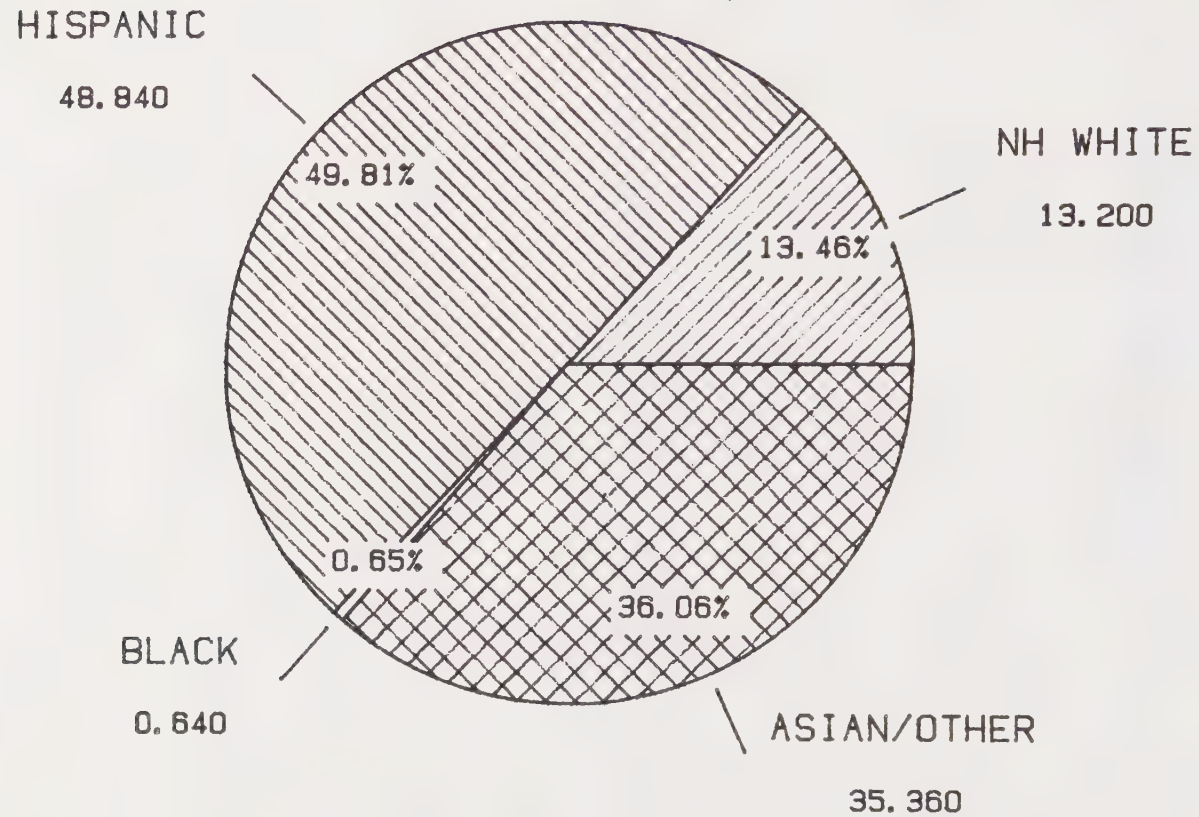
Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1980.

¹ Includes population aged 5 through 17.

² Data covers the 1979-80 school year, but was collected April 1, 1980 for the U.S. Census.

Figure IV-1

1980 Immigrant School Enrollment — SCAG Region
Ages 5-17, by Ethnic Group (in thousands)



1980 Census, controlling for 1975 residence.

NH: Non-Hispanic.

Table IV-2
School-Age¹ Enrollment in Public
and Private Schools in the SCAG Region,
by Ethnic Group, 1980²

Ethnic Group	Public Schools	Ethnic Group as % Enrolled In Public Schools	Private Schools	Ethnic Group as % Enrolled in Private Schools	Total	Ethnic Group as % of Total Enrollments
NH White	980,780	49.5%	166,360	59.9%	1,147,140	50.9%
Hispanic	643,680	32.5%	69,980	25.2%	713,660	31.6%
Black	231,700	11.7%	25,760	9.3%	257,460	11.4%
Asian/ Other	125,080	6.3%	15,680	5.7%	140,760	6.2%
TOTAL	1,981,240	100.0%	277,780	100.0%	2,259,020	100.0%

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1980.

¹ Includes population aged 5 through 17.

² Data covers the 1979-80 school year, but was collected April 1, 1980 for the U.S. Census.

Table IV-3

Primary Languages of Limited English Program (LEP) Students, Los Angeles Unified School District, 1981-82

Language	Elementary	Secondary	Special Educ.	Total
Afghan	4	9	—	13
Afrikaans	—	1	—	1
Albanian	3	—	—	3
American Indian Languages:				
Apache	1	—	—	1
Navajo	2	2	—	4
Other Indian Languages	2	1	—	3
Amharic	11	14	—	25
Arabic	177	109	11	297
Armenian	1,029	974	27	2,030
Assyrian	41	17	1	59
Bengali	3	1	—	4
Bulgarian	1	—	—	1
Burmese	21	34	—	55
Ceylonese	1	1	—	2
Chinese Languages:				
Cantonese	1,628	890	22	2,540
Mandarin	117	149	2	268
Taiwanese	23	21	2	46
Toishanese	24	2	—	26
Other Chinese	219	140	9	368
Creole	1	4	1	6
Croatian	7	—	1	8
Czech	4	1	—	5
Danish	1	—	1	2
Dutch	8	2	—	10
Estonian	—	1	—	1
Farsi (Persian)	294	206	13	513
Finnish	1	—	—	1
Flemish	1	1	—	2
French	52	23	5	80
Ganda	1	—	—	1
German	6	14	1	21
Greek	28	7	1	36
Guamanian	1	—	—	1
Gujarati	22	11	2	35
Haitian Creole	—	1	—	1
Hebrew	218	103	4	325
Hindi	29	28	1	58
Hmong	10	—	—	10
Hungarian	17	9	1	27
Ibo	8	—	—	8
Icelandic	30	—	2	32
Indonesian	22	10	3	35
Italian	52	21	7	80
Japanese	352	62	7	421

Language	Elementary	Secondary	Special Educ.	Total
Javanese	—	1	—	1
Khmer (Cambodia)	248	245	—	493
Korean	1,650	958	30	2,638
Kurdish	1	—	—	1
Lao	111	78	2	191
Latvian	2	—	—	2
Lithuanian	1	—	—	1
Malay	15	1	—	16
Norwegian	5	—	5	10
Panjabi	15	8	1	24
Philippine Languages:				
Ilocano	23	19	1	43
Pilipino (Tagalog)	520	271	32	823
Other Phillippine	18	14	2	34
Polish	21	4	—	25
Portuguese	20	19	2	41
Romanian	30	19	—	49
Russian	166	65	4	235
Samoan	56	29	4	89
Serbian	5	1	—	6
Serbo-Croatian	8	5	1	14
Sinhalese	5	—	—	5
Slovak	6	—	—	6
Spanish	77,824	22,051	2,228	102,103
Swahili	1	—	—	1
Swedish	7	2	—	9
Tahitian	—	33	—	33
Thai	104	97	3	204
Tongan	3	5	—	8
Turkish	6	2	—	8
Ukrainian	1	1	—	2
Urdu	14	15	—	29
Vietnamese	1,378	1,304	25	2,707
Visayan	—	—	2	2
Other Not Listed	39	32	—	71
Total	86,775	28,148	2,465	117,388

While only 6% of all school-age children in the region do not speak English fluently,¹ 46% of the 121,000 school-age immigrant children (56,000) are not fluent in English. This also means that a large number of "non-immigrant" children who also do not speak English fluently (83,440) are probably either children of immigrants or earlier immigrants (prior to 1975). Table IV-4 shows the English-speaking ability of school-age immigrants by ethnic group. Sixty percent of school-age Hispanic immigrants and 40% of school-age Asian/Other immigrants are not fluent in English. Of all immigrants who are not fluent in English, Asian/Others comprise 28 percent, and Hispanics comprise 67 percent. These figures give an indication of the magnitude of the recent influx of students with special language needs to the region's schools.

As shown in Table IV-5, there are both similarities and differences between certain ethnic groups in English-speaking ability for school-age children. While nearly all White and Black school-age children are fluent in English, about 15% of both Hispanic and Asian/other children are nonfluent. Hispanics comprise 81 percent of the school-age children in the region who are not fluent in English.

Current Educational Issues

Existing public educational systems are being altered by the introduction of students to school systems in the region through immigration. Although only 5% of school-age children are immigrants, most of these children are geographically concentrated in the urban core and they are having very significant impacts on public educational requirements in certain school districts. Current conditions are discussed below:

- Bilingual Education -- Bilingual programs are in effect in many of the school districts in the SCAG region. All use some form of the four approaches to bilingual education allowable by the U.S. Department of Education. These include: (1) Structured Immersion; (2) English as a Second Language (ESL); (3) Transitional Bilingual Education (TBE); and (4) Bilingual/Bicultural Maintenance. The latter two approaches are the most controversial, as their goal is not rapid movement into English, but effective transition, and because they are aimed at maintenance of the non-English language and culture. TBE has been the most commonly adopted approach. Problems related to implementation of bilingual education programs have included: lack of sufficient funding, an insufficient number of qualified bilingual teachers, inadequate curricula, and insufficient attention to evaluation of their effectiveness. (Ford Foundation, 1984)

While the majority of students in bilingual classes in the SCAG region are Spanish-speaking, the fact that there are so many different languages spoken by students (as exemplified by the more than 80 languages spoken

¹ Fluency is defined here as speaking English well or fluently, while nonfluency refers to those who speak little or no English.

Table IV-4
English-Speaking Ability of
School-Age Immigrant Population¹ by
Ethnic Group for the
SCAG Region, 1980

Ethnic Group	Fluent	Not Fluent	Not Fluent as Proportion of Total Regional Non-Fluent School-Age Immigrant Population
NH White	83.6%	16.4%	5.0%
Hispanic	40.8%	59.2%	67.4%
Black	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Asian/Other	60.8%	39.2%	27.6%
TOTAL	53.8%	46.2%	100.0%

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1980.

¹ Includes population 5 through 17 years of age who lived outside the U. S. in 1975.

Table IV-5
English-Speaking Ability of
School-Age Population¹ by
Ethnic Group for the
SCAG Region, 1980

Ethnic Group	Fluent	Not Fluent	Not Fluent as Proportion of Total Regional Non-Fluent School-Age Population
NH White	99.5%	0.5%	4.1%
Hispanic	85.4%	14.6%	80.9%
Black	99.7%	0.3%	0.5%
Asian/Other	86.2%	13.8%	14.5%
TOTAL	94.1%	5.9%	100.0%

Source: U.S. Census of Population.

¹ Includes population 5 through 17 years of age.

in the Los Angeles City Schools) means that schools must be prepared to provide multilingual education. This increases the difficulty of administering bilingual education in the classrooms.

The effectiveness of bilingual education in teaching English is uncertain: studies have shown that nationwide, Latino immigrants are switching to English at about the same rate as German, Italian, and Polish immigrants that preceded them to the United States, and that the language shift is occurring faster among today's Hispanic origin youth than in previous eras. Nationwide data on reading scores has shown increased competence among Latino school children since 1975. However, it is clear that substantial numbers of Mexican-origin students do not master the English language in Southern California's public school systems, and drop-out rates among these students is estimated at 35 to 50% in Los Angeles. (Cornelius, 1982: 76-77) The language problem may have a lot to do with drop-out rates. Observers also believe that school quality, discrimination by school professionals, and teachers' self-fulfilling prophecies of low achievement for Hispanics have historically played a role in "pushing" Hispanics out of school. (Ford Foundation, 1984)

- Overcrowding and Uneven Distribution of Immigrants -- Overcrowding in inner city, minority dominated schools in Los Angeles contrasts with declining enrollments in outlying communities. The Los Angeles Unified School District has rising enrollment, primarily in Hispanic neighborhoods experiencing a rapid influx of immigrants. Seventy-five schools with enrollments averaging 77 percent Hispanic operated year-round in 1982 to eliminate overcrowding, and another ten predominately Hispanic schools were overcrowded despite year-round instruction (Muller, 1984:) In general, immigrants from different ethnic backgrounds tend to cluster in certain areas, where there are already established communities of their ethnic group. This creates uneven concentrations of immigrants in some schools or school districts.

2. Adult Population

Educational attainment levels for adult immigrants, residents, and in-migrants is discussed in the Economics section of this report, where it is noted that residents and in-migrants have significantly higher levels of educational attainment than immigrants: 65.4% of all in-migrants and 56.0% of all 1975 SCAG region residents had at least a high school education, but only 37% of the immigrant population had completed a secondary education. This information is important primarily as it relates to skill level and employment potential, but also has implications for adult or continuing education programs tailored toward recent adult immigrants with little schooling or job training. However, this section focuses primarily on the English-speaking ability of the immigrant population, aged 18 and over. Only 4.6 percent of all adults in the region are immigrants, but 56 percent of recent adult immigrants (208,300) are not fluent in English. A considerable number of less recent immigrants also are not fluent (458,000).

English-speaking ability by ethnicity for the recent adult immigrant population is shown in Table IV-6. This table shows a very low fluency rate in English among Hispanic adult immigrants, with 80% not fluent in English. Whites and Asian/Others who lived abroad in 1975 show moderate rates of nonfluency in English, 28% and 40%, respectively.

English fluency represents the essential ability of persons to orient and care for themselves within mainstream American culture, although it is true that many persons who do not speak English live and work for long periods of time in the U.S. This is particularly true in areas where a Mexican or Central American subculture predominates, and in various Asian communities. The presence of large numbers of people unable to speak English fluently has created a demand for adult English education programs within the public educational system.

B. IMPACTS OF FUTURE IMMIGRATION ON PUBLIC EDUCATION

1. School-Age Population

Continued high levels of immigration to the SCAG region will affect schools by contributing to an increase in the number of school-age children who do not speak English fluently. There is also likely to be a continuation of recent trends for a diversity of languages, particularly Asian languages, among students not speaking English as their primary language, although Spanish will certainly continue to be the dominant second language in the region.

Low levels of immigration would mean a much smaller proportion of school-age children in the region would not be fluent in English, making demands for bilingual education much lighter.

There is very little difference between the High and Low scenarios in the number of school-age children expected to reside in the region in 2000; under the High scenario, there will be 2.885 million, and under the Low, 2.891 million. This represents an average increase of 26,000 school-age children (1.1%) per year, and a total increase of about 500,000 by year 2000. In contrast, there is a significant difference between the two scenarios in the number of immigrant school-age children expected in 2000. There would be 197,600 school-age immigrants in 2000 under the High (6.9% of total school-age population in 2000), compared to 121,000 today (as counted by the U.S. Census) and 59,400 (2.1% of total school-age population in 2000) under the low (see Table IV-7). In other words, under the High Scenario there would be a 63% increase in the number of immigrant school-age children in the region in 2000 over the 1980 figure, but a 50% decrease under the low. Assuming existing patterns, it is expected that 46 percent of each group would not be fluent in English; this would amount to 27,300 under the low scenario and 90,900 under the high.

It should be noted that these increases will occur gradually over the 20-year period and that individual schools will receive different ethnic mixes, since immigrants of similar ethnic backgrounds tend to cluster in certain areas. Another way of looking at the impacts of immigration on the region's school systems is to understand that during the 20-year period between 1980 and 2000, approximately 237,000 additional immigrant children

Table IV-6
English-Seaking Ability of Adult Immigrant
Population¹ by Ethnic Group
for the SCAG Region, 1980

Ethnic Group	Fluent	Not Fluent	Not Fluent as Proportion of Total Regional Non-Fluent Adult Immigrant Population
NH White	72.5%	27.5%	9.1%
Hispanic	23.6%	76.4%	68.9%
Black	92.8%	7.2%	0.1%
Asian/Other	60.6%	39.4%	21.8%
TOTAL	44.6%	55.5%	100.0%

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1980.

¹ Includes population 18 years of age and older who lived outside the U. S. in 1975.

Table IV-7
Expected Number of School-Age and Immigrant
School-Age Children, 2000:
High and Low Scenarios

	1980	2000: High	2000: Low
School-age Children	2,369,820	2.885 million	2.891 million
Immigrant School-age Children	121,360	197,579 (6.9% of total)	59,359 (2.1% of total)

will be entering the schools under the Low Scenario, and about 790,000 will be entering under the High. While the total enrollment of students is very similar under the two Scenarios, the impacts in terms of English language education are entirely different.

Two recent studies focusing on Mexican immigration to Southern California have addressed educational impacts. Muller (1984) suggests that public school systems may not be able to deal successfully with a continuing influx of children with limited or no knowledge of English, due in part to a continuing shortage of trained bilingual teachers; in addition, he foresees continuing overcrowding in schools dominated by Hispanic students. Cornelius, et al. (1982) address the high drop-out rate among Mexican-origin children in California schools, finding that at least some bilingual education is necessary to ease the linguistic transition for these students. Both researchers also caution that economic differences between Mexicans and other ethnic groups will widen unless schools can educate and train students for better employment.

2. Adult Population

The population of adults (age 18 and over) in the region in 2000 would be about 10.7 to 10.8 million. There would be about 710,000 adult immigrants coming to the SCAG region over the next 20-year period under the Low Scenario and 2,299,000 under the High. Of these, approximately 398,000 would not be expected to speak English fluently under the Low Scenario, and 1,278,000 under the High Scenario. This clearly indicates a need for additional adult education programs in English under the High Immigration Scenario, but not under the Low.

V. HOUSING IMPACTS

Housing the region's ever-growing population has always been a challenge; and, housing recent foreign immigrants has presented some additional challenges for our region, in particular for the County of Los Angeles which has received a large share of these new arrivals, and in the smaller geographic areas where many of these households have tended to concentrate. Recent immigrants from abroad had special housing needs and characteristics that were not typical of the region's population as a whole. This chapter discusses these characteristics, their impacts, and what they suggest for the future. Differences among different ethnic groups making up the immigrant population are also discussed.

The housing characteristics that are examined include:

- Number of households;
- Household size;
- Tenure and housing type;
- Extent of overcrowding (more than 1.01 persons per room);¹ and
- Extent of overpayment (households earning less than 80 percent of the regional median income and who pay 30% or more of their income toward housing costs).²

In addition, Year 2000 housing needs are examined, based on the Low and High immigration scenarios.

An appendix at the end of this report contains a more detailed version of housing data presented in this chapter.

A. CURRENT HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS

1. Number of Households

In 1980, the 4.2 million households in the SCAG region were made up predominately of White households (69%), with Hispanics constituting the second largest group (17%). There were about half as many Black as Hispanic households (9%) and about half as many Asian as Black (5%). In contrast, proportionately more Hispanic and Asian households were recent immigrants than White and especially Black households. In all, 75 percent of all immigrant household were non-White, as shown in Table V-1.

Table V-1 also shows that despite large influxes of Hispanic and Asian immigrants into the region between 1975-80, they were balanced out by the base population (residents over five years) and in-migrants from outside the region to reflect almost no change in the regional representation of these groups. The one exception was in the Asian

¹ U.S. Census definition.

² SCAG definition.

category where the influx of this group was very large compared to the nonimmigrant household base. The immigrants pushed the regional percentage of Asian households up to 5 percent from 4 percent (the residents over five years figure), a 25 percent increase.

Table V-1
Percentage of 1980 Households by Ethnic Group³

Group	Recent Immigrants	Recent In-Migrants	Residents Over Five Years	Region
NH White	24	76	70	69
Hispanic	43	10	17	17
Black	1	9	9	9
Asian/Other	32	5	4	5
Total%		100%	100%	100%
100%				
(Households)	(125,800)	(482,360)	(3,567,140)	(4,175,300)
(%)	(3)	(12)	(85)	(100)

Asians were the fastest growing ethnic group during the 1975-80 period. While second in number to Hispanic immigrants, recent Asian immigrants made up 20.4 percent of all Asians in the region. Recent Hispanic immigrants, the next largest group proportionately, made up 7.8 percent of all Hispanics, and for Blacks, the percentage was only .4 percent, and for Whites, 1.1 percent. This data appears in Table V-2 below:

Table V-2
Percentage of Immigrant Households by Ethnic Group — 1980⁴

Group	Total	Recent Immigrants	%
NH White	2,668,840	29,600	1.1
Hispanic	694,740	54,120	7.8
Black	361,500	1,560	0.4
Asian/Other	198,260	40,520	20.4
Total	3,923,340	125,800	100%

³ Total Regional Households vary between Tables V-1 and V-2 due to the use of different sampling methodologies applied to 1980 census data by the U.S. Census Bureau.

⁴ Ibid.

2. Household Size

In 1980, 85 percent of the region's households were residents of the SCAG region for over five years, while 12 percent came from other regions of the USA and 3 percent from abroad (Table V-3). The size of the households was just about the same for residents over five years and the region as a whole. Immigrant households tend to be larger and in-migrant households smaller, as shown in Table V-3 and Figure V-1.

Table V-3
1980 Small, Medium, and Large Households, in Percent⁵

	Immigrants	In-Migrants	Residents Over Five Years	Region
Small	36	61	55	56
Medium	38	28	31	31
Large	26	10	14	14
Total % (HHs) (%)	100% (125,800) (3)	100% (482,360) (12)	100% (3,567,140) (85)	100% (4,175,300) (100)

In terms of recent immigrants from abroad, the size of households varied by ethnic group, as shown in Table V-4. Hispanic and Asian households were larger, and White and Black households smaller. Hispanic and Asian households had similar household size patterns; each had slightly more medium-sized households than any other group. White households fell mostly in the small or medium category, while Black households were predominately small. Since three-quarters of the recent immigrant group were Hispanic or Asian/Other, the pattern for the immigrant group as a whole took on their characteristics, i.e., three-quarters of the households were of medium or small size. Differences among ethnic groups may be due to cultural differences relating to incidence of extended families, or economic factors (i.e., rural households tend to have larger households than urban dwellers, etc.).

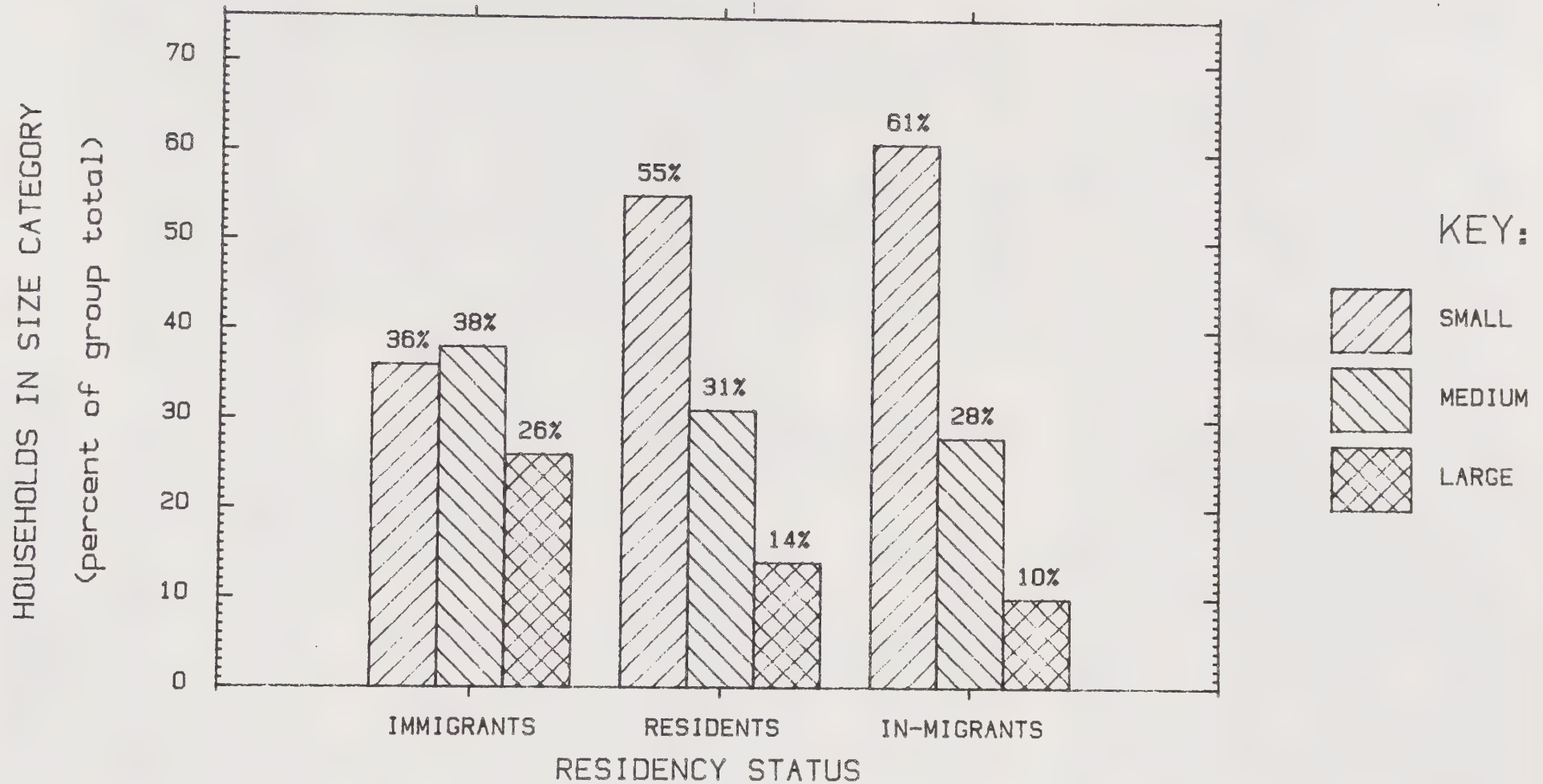
The regional persons per household figures were as follows: Whites -- 2.40; Blacks -- 2.80; Asians -- 3.26; and Hispanics -- 3.86, respectively. The overall regional persons per household figure was 2.73, while the figure for recent Hispanic and Asian immigrants was 4.65 and 3.83, respectively.

⁵ Household size is defined as follows:

Small-- 1 and 2 persons per household
Medium -- 3 and 4 persons per household
Large -- 5 or more persons per household

V-4

Figure V-1
Household Size Characteristics — SCAG Region, 1980
Immigrants, Residents, and In-Migrants



1980 Census, controlling for 1975 residence.

Small: 1-2 persons per household (pph);
Medium: 3-4 pph; Large: 5+ pph.

Table V-4**1980 Household Size Characteristics of Recent Immigrants in Percent**

	NH White	Hispanic	Black	Asian/Other	Total
Small	44	30	64	35	36
Medium	40	39	28	37	38
Large	16	31	8	28	26
Total % (HHs)	100% (29,600)	100% (54,120)	100% (1,560)	100% (40,520)	100% (125,800)

The 1980 regional distribution of large households was overrepresented by Hispanics, Asians, and Blacks. The percent by which Hispanics were overrepresented was 235 percent higher than their regional share of all households, while for Asian households it was 140 percent and for Blacks 111 percent. White households were underrepresented by 38 percent. The disproportionately high number of large immigrant Hispanic and Asian households contributes to this imbalance. In fact, in the immigrant category, the proportion of large Hispanic families was twice that of the group as a whole (51% vs. 26%), while the proportion of large households in the immigrant group was almost twice that of the region as a whole (26% vs. 14%). Among recent immigrant households, 86 percent of the large households were Hispanic or Asian; none were Black, and the remainder were White. This data appears below in Table V-5.

Table V-5**Percent Distribution of Large Households by Ethnicity, 1980**

	% Immigrant Large HHs	% Total Immigrant HHs	% Large HHs in Region	% Total HHs in Region
NH White	14	24	43	69
Hispanic	51	43	40	17
Black	0	1	10	9
Asian	35	32	7	5
Total % (HHs) (%)	100% 32,800 (26)	100% 125,800 (100)	100% 578,340 (14)	100% 4,175,300 (100)

3. Subregional Distribution of Recent Immigrant Households

The largest number and percent of immigrants from abroad settled in the County of Los Angeles--83 percent or 104,080 out of 125,800 households. Seventy-six percent of the immigrants were non-White households. The county received close to its proportionate share of each immigrant ethnic group that entered the region from abroad between 1975-80.

Orange County received 11.3 percent of all immigrants from abroad. Proportionately, it received many more Asian households than other immigrant groups, close to its share of White immigrant households and proportionately fewer Hispanic and Black immigrant households.

The remainder of the region received 6 percent of all recent immigrants from abroad, about half as many as Orange County and about 1/14th as many immigrants as L. A. County. Proportionately more Hispanics and proportionately fewer Asians settled in these areas. The remainder of the region received about its proportionate share of Black and White immigrants.

The information showing these distributions appears in Table V-6. It was not clear why so many immigrants chose to settle in the County of Los Angeles as opposed to other areas. There may be a link between settlement patterns and the relative availability of jobs, particularly unskilled jobs, and the availability of lower cost housing and public services. Los Angeles County had proportionately more unskilled jobs and older, lower cost housing than other parts of the region. Lack of services and exclusionary housing ordinances or practices in and outside the L.A. Basin may have also contributed to this situation.

Table V-6
Percent Distribution of Immigrant Households in the
SCAG Region by Subregional Area

	L. A. Co. Immigrants	Orange Co. Immigrants	Remainder of Region Immigrants	Regional Total
NH White	23.8	21.7	23.9	23.5
Hispanic	43.7	34.7	49.5	43.0
Black	1.3	.5	1.6	1.2
Asian/Other	31.2	43.1	25.0	32.2
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
# Households	104,080	14,200	7,520	125,800
%	82.7	11.3	6	100.0

4. Correlation Between Household Income, Ethnicity and Location of Residence

The centralization of minorities relative to Whites increased in the urban core of the region during the period 1970-80. At the same time and over the same geographic area, there was a further centralization of low income relative to higher income households. These increased concentrations developed primarily in Los Angeles County, where 83 percent of the recent immigrants settled.

There appears to be a close correlation between household income and household residential patterns of "minority" groups in the region (i.e., Hispanic, Black, and Asian households). This situation is illustrated in Figures V-2 and V-3 which depict 1970 and 1980 concentrations of both low income and minority households by 1980 census tracts.

In the urban core area of Los Angeles County, there was a heavy concentration of census tracts with 50 percent or more low income households, 50 percent or more minority households or 50 percent or more low income and minority households. A review of the 1970 map indicated that there was a doughnut shape to the concentration of these census tracts with the inner area filled with census tracts containing 50 percent or more low income and minority households, while the outer area contained a band of predominately minority tracts. Outside of Los Angeles County, there were only a few isolated pockets of predominately low income and/or minority occupied census tracts.

Between 1970 and 1980, this doughnut-shaped area in Los Angeles County, encircled by a band of predominantly minority-occupied census tracts, expanded dramatically. In Central Orange County, a doughnut appeared similar to the 1970 shape in Los Angeles County, but at a smaller scale. There were also a number of scattered low income areas that developed in the northern part of the county. In the remainder of the region, the Central Coast and northern area of Ventura County experienced an expansion of its low income and/or minority concentrated census tracts, while other parts of the region showed relatively few changes since 1970.

Since almost 75 percent of all immigrants were minority households with low incomes, and since almost 83 percent of these households settled in Los Angeles County, it may be that immigrant minority households, like resident minority households, were highly concentrated in the same areas and for the same reasons.

The expansion of low income and minority concentrated areas in Los Angeles and their emergence in Orange and Ventura Counties seems to have coincided with the influx of immigrants in these areas between 1970-80. It also appears that higher income minority households moved from the edge of the 1970 doughnut-shaped area in Los Angeles County and were replaced by lower income and minority households, including immigrant minority households, during the 1970s. It was unclear why upper income minority households would still concentrate in census tracts which encircle areas concentrated with lower income minority households rather than be more dispersed throughout the county or

FIGURE V - 2
CONCENTRATIONS OF LOW INCOME
AND MINORITY HOUSEHOLDS
BY CENSUS TRACTS 1970

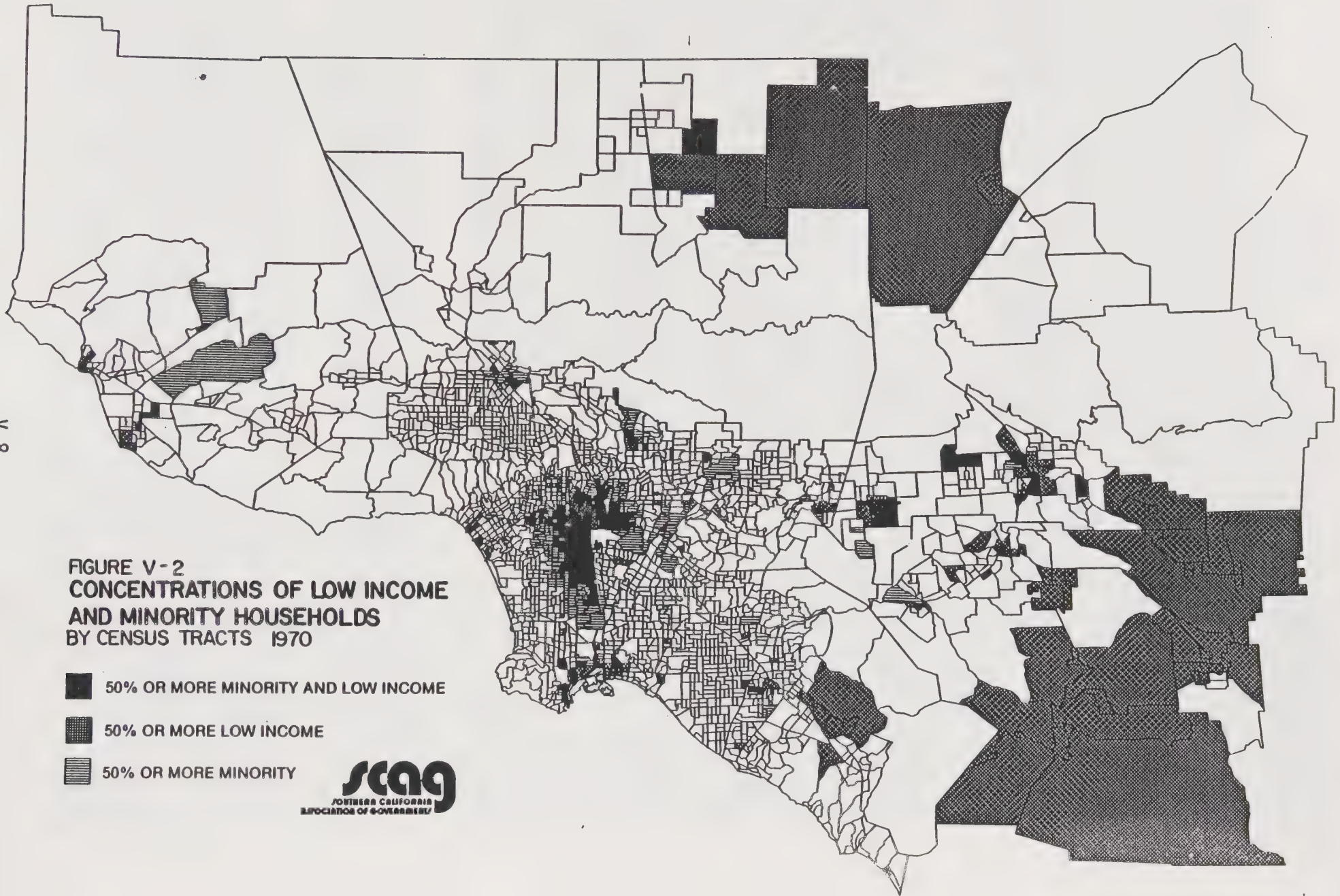
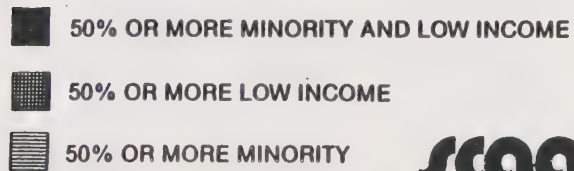



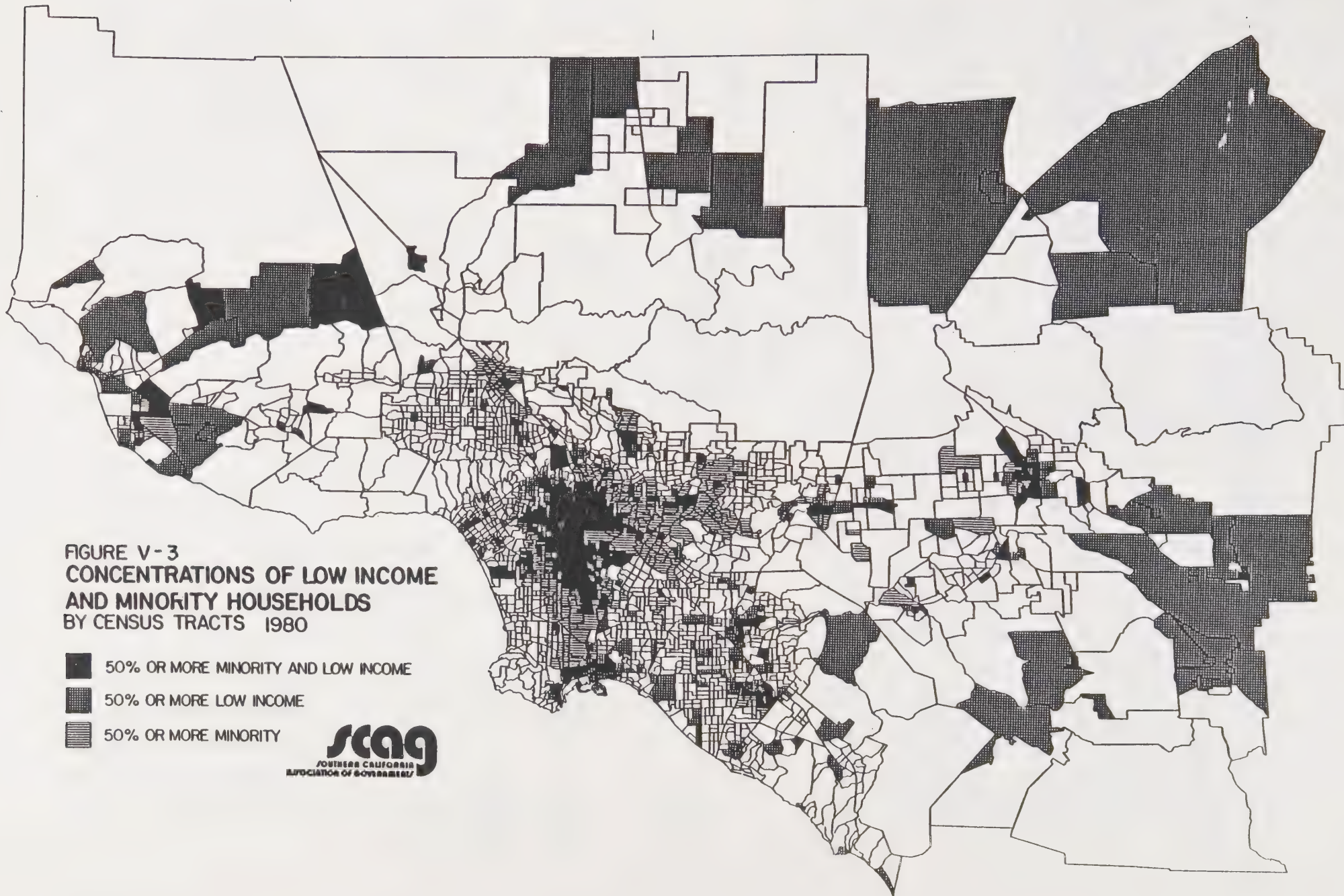


FIGURE V-3
CONCENTRATIONS OF LOW INCOME
AND MINORITY HOUSEHOLDS
BY CENSUS TRACTS 1980

-  50% OR MORE MINORITY AND LOW INCOME
-  50% OR MORE LOW INCOME
-  50% OR MORE MINORITY

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region. Whether this was a matter of choice, or due to a lack of housing opportunities in other areas, is an unsettled question.

5. Tenure and Housing Type

Recent immigrants from abroad were predominately renters in 1980. By ethnic group, the range was 73-93% renters, with Hispanic and Black households at the higher end and Asian and White households at the lower end. Overall, 83 percent of recent immigrants were renters. This figure is about twice as high as the percent of total renters in the region--47 percent, shown in Table V-7.

All ethnic groups exhibited a change in their proportion of renters to owners as their status shifted from recent immigrant to resident over five years. However, while resident White and Asian households became predominately owners, Hispanics and Blacks remained predominately renters. This may have been due to differences in the rate income rises or levels off among ethnic groups, the higher proportion of renters among Hispanic and Black households to begin with, or other factors.

Table V-7
1980 Tenure Type Characteristics of Ethnic Groups by
Immigrant, In-Migrant and Resident Status
(In Percent)

Group	Immigrant		In-Migrant/USA		Resident/5 yrs.		Region	
	% Owner	% Renter	% Owner	% Renter	% Owner	% Renter	% Owner	% Renter
NH White	27	73	33	67	63	37	59	41
Hispanic	7	93	19	81	45	55	40	60
Black	13	87	13	87	44	56	41	59
Asian/Other	25	75	39	61	61	39	51	49
Total	17	83	30	70	58	42	53	47

Building type choices were similar for all ethnic groups. Each ethnic group showed a preference for single family dwellings units as they changed in status from recent immigrant or in-migrant to resident. The pattern was similar to that noted in the tenure type discussion, as shown in Table V-8. In this case, all groups changed from predominately multifamily to single family unit occupancy, as their status shifted from recent immigrant or in-migrant to resident over five years. Minority groups, especially Blacks, showed no tendency to reside in mobile homes. The proportion of Asian and White households occupying condominiums was generally twice that of Hispanic and Black households.

Table V-8
1980 Building Type Occupancy by Ethnic Groups
(In Percent)

Bldg. Type	Hispanic			Black		
	Immigrant	In-Mig.	Resident	Immigrant	In-Mig.	Resident
Condo	2.5	3.0	1.4	2.6	2.6	1.2
M. DU	70.6	56.7	37.6	84.6	67.8	42.0
M Home	1.1	1.3	0.8	0	.5	0.3
S DU	25.8	39.0	60.1	12.8	29.1	56.4
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
# HHs	54,120	45,720	594,900	1,560	42,520	317,420

Bldg. Type	Asian/Other			White		
	Immigrant	In-Mig.	Resident	Immigrant	In-Mig.	Resident
Condo	4.2	7.1	3.3	5.9	6.9	5.3
M. DU	58.6	49.2	34	60.5	47.8	27.8
M Home	0.4	0.6	1.2	1.2	4	4.1
S DU	36.7	43.0	61.5	32.3	41.2	62.9
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
# HHs	40,520	26,320	131,420	29,600	367,800	2,271,440

Bldg. Type = Building Type
 Condo = Condominium
 M DU = Multifamily Dwelling Unit
 M Home = Mobile Home
 S DU = Single family Dwelling Unit

6. Extent of Overcrowding

Approximately 359,480, or 9 percent of 3,923,340 households sampled in the region in 1980 lived in overcrowded conditions (i.e., more than 1.01 persons per room). An overwhelming number of these households were non-White households--83 percent. About 15 percent of all households living in overcrowded housing were recent immigrants--mostly Hispanic and Asian--while this category made up only 3 percent of the region's households. Overall, 44 percent of the recent immigrant households were overcrowded compared with 8 percent for resident households (Figure V-4). Hispanics, more than any other ethnic group, were living under this condition. The proportion of each ethnic group that lived in an overcrowded condition in 1980 appears in Table V-9.

Table V-9
Number and Percent of Households by Ethnicity Living in
Overcrowded Conditions by Immigrant, In-Migrant, and
Resident Status — 1980

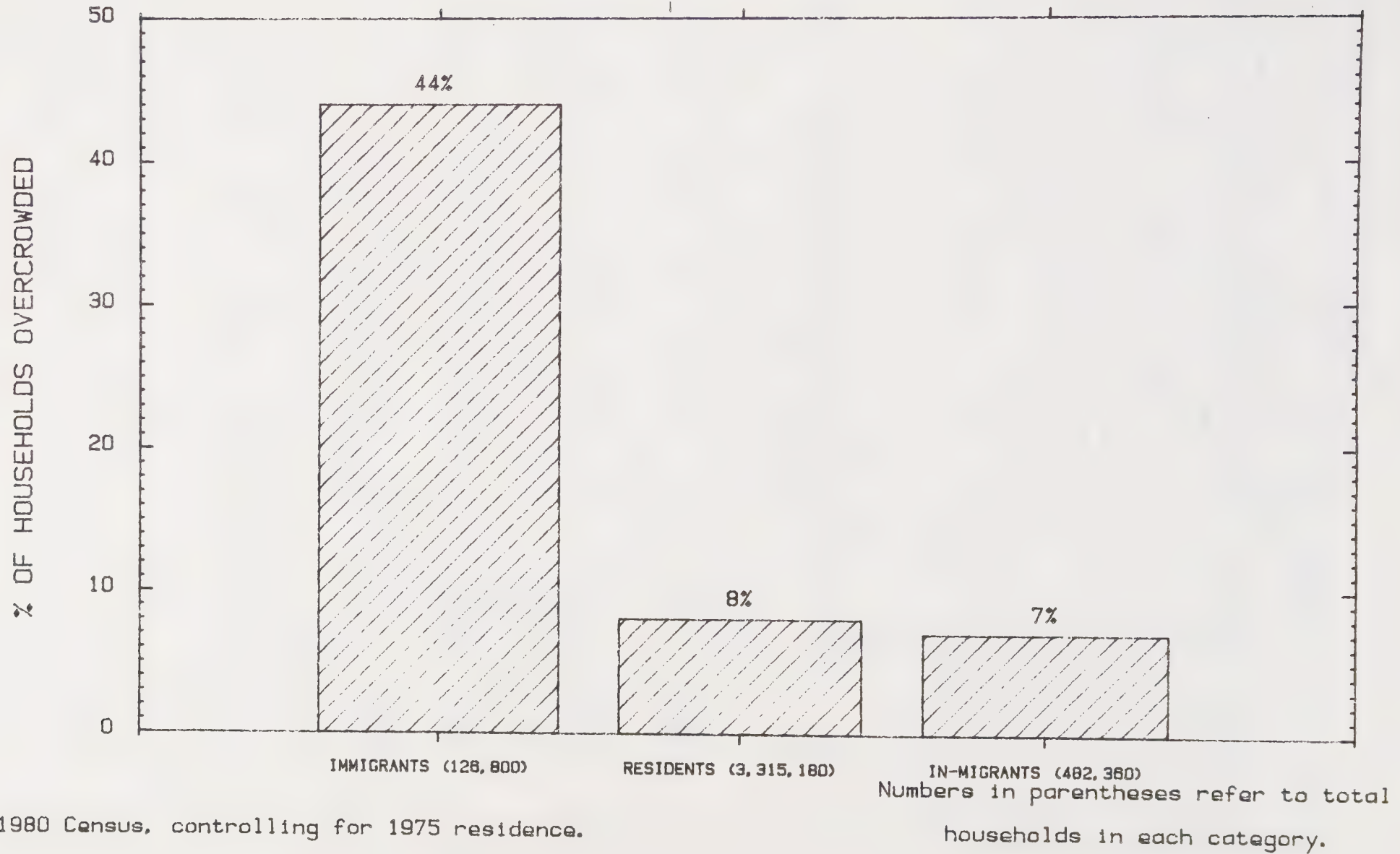
	Immigrant			In-Migrant			Resident		
	Total	# OC	%	Total	# OC	%	Total	# OC	%
NH White	29,600	6,040	20	367,800	11,160	3	2,271,440	44,420	2
Hispanic	54,120	30,840	57	45,720	12,920	28	594,900	177,400	30
Black	1,560	480	31	42,520	4,040	10	317,420	31,780	10
Asian/Other	40,520	18,120	45	26,320	5,440	21	131,420	16,840	13
Total	125,800	55,480	44	482,360	33,560	7	3,315,180	270,440	8
Region	3,923,340	359,480	9						

By ethnic group, proportionately more resident Hispanics were living in overcrowded housing. The Hispanic percentage was almost 3 times that of any other minority group and 15 times that of Whites. They were the only ethnic group to have more than 1/2 of their recent immigrant category identified as living in overcrowded housing.

The percentage of each ethnic group living in overcrowded housing falls when you compare recent immigrants and in-migrants to residents. The drop was sharp for Hispanic households (57 to 30%), even greater for Asian and Black households (45 to 13% and 31 to 10%) and most dramatic for White households (20 to 2%).

Figure V-4

Percent Overcrowded Households — SCAG Region, 1980
Immigrants, Residents, In-Migrants



7. Extent of Overpayment

About 29 percent or 1,153,960 out of 3,923,340 households sampled in the region in 1980 had incomes less than 80 percent of the regional median income and paid more than 30 percent of their income for shelter. Almost 1/2 of all recent immigrants (49%) paid a disproportionately high amount of income for shelter. Their incidence of overpayment was almost twice as high as longer term residents (49 vs. 27%). The proportionate number of households overpaying went down for each ethnic group when you compare recent immigrants or in-migrants with residents over five years. The drop was greatest for White and Asian households and lower for Hispanic and Black households. As a group, Black households seem to have the highest incidence of overpayment for each category except the immigrants from abroad group, where they are numerically an insignificant component. This information is shown in Table V-10.

Table V-10
Number and Percent of Households by Ethnicity Overpaying
for Housing by Immigrant, In-Migrant and
Resident Status — 1980

	Immigrants			In-Migrants			Residents		
	Total	# OP	%	Total	# OP	%	Total	# OP	%
NH White	29,600	16,480	56	367,800	137,680	37	2,271,440	574,000	25
Hispanic	54,120	23,640	44	45,720	19,880	43	594,900	177,100	30
Black	1,560	760	49	42,520	19,800	47	317,420	121,520	38
Asian	40,520	20,320	50	26,320	10,320	39	131,420	32,460	25
Total	125,800	61,200	49	482,360	187,680	39	3,315,180	905,080	27

B. IMPACTS OF THE FUTURE IMMIGRATION SCENARIOS ON HOUSING SUPPLY AND DEMAND

1. Number of Households and Household Size Distributions

The number of households in the Low and High immigration scenarios are estimated below for the year 2000, by ethnic group, and compared with 1980 households. These numbers are derived from each scenario's year 2000 population totals for each ethnic group (see companion report) as well as average persons per household assumption for each ethnic group, as discussed further on.

Table V-11
Year 2000 Household Projections

Group	1980 HHs	Year 2000		% Increase	
		Low	High	Low	High
NH White	2,878,520	3,311,739	2,673,522	15	- 7
Hispanic	724,540	1,314,403	1,612,713	81	122
Black	366,500	518,175	427,757	41	17
Asian/Other	205,740	414,685	428,245	102	108
Total	4,175,300	5,559,002	5,142,237	33	23
Regional Persons Per HH	2.73	2.66	2.85		

Compared to 1980, the Low immigration scenarios for 2000 projects: a lower average household size than exists today, 2.66 persons per households versus 2.73; a doubling of the relatively small number of Asian/Other households, a 102 percent increase: the near doubling of the relatively large Hispanic group, an 81 percent increase, and significant, but less dramatic, growth in its Black and NH White ethnic groups. Overall, households in the region will increase by 1/3.

In contrast, the High immigration scenario for 2000 projects: a higher average household size than exists currently, 2.85 persons per household versus 2.73; an increase of 122 percent in the relatively large Hispanic household group as well as a 108 percent increase in the Asian/Other household group: relatively little growth in the Black household group, and a net loss in a sizeable number of NH White households. Overall, households would increase by 23 percent--considerably less than in the Low Scenario because of the higher average household size.

Both scenarios project an overall increase in the region of ethnic groups with a propensity for larger households (i.e., Asian/Other and Hispanic) coupled with a lag in growth or decrease in groups with a tendency for smaller households (i.e., Blacks and NH Whites). These changes may strongly influence the housing unit size needs of the future, as shown in Table V-12.

Table V-12
Year 2000 Household Size Distribution for the Low
and the High Immigration Scenarios

Year 2000 Low Scenario:

HH Size ⁶	Yr. 1980	(%)	Added HHs	(%)	Year 2000 HHs	(%)
Small	2,318,000	(55)	624,503	(45)	2,942,503	(53)
Medium	1,278,960	(31)	463,306	(34)	1,742,266	(31)
Large	578,340	(14)	295,893	(21)	874,233	(16)
Total	4,175,300	(100)	1,383,893	(100)	5,519,005	(100)

Year 2000 High Scenario:

HH Size	Yr. 1980	(%)	Added HHs	(%)	Year 2000 HHs	(%)
Small	2,318,000	(55)	273,716	(28)	2,591,716	(50)
Medium	1,278,960	(31)	370,929	(38)	1,649,889	(32)
Large	578,340	(14)	322,292	(34)	900,632	(18)
Total	4,175,300	(100)	966,937	(100)	5,142,237	(100)

Small -- 1 and 2 persons per household.
Medium -- 3 and 4 persons per household.
Large -- 5 or more persons per household.

The households added to the region between 1980 and 2000 will range between 1,384,000 in the Low Immigration Scenario to 967,000 in the High Immigration Scenario. In the Low Scenario, the estimate is that there will be more households than in the High Scenario because there will be relatively more smaller households added (45% vs. 28%) and fewer medium and large households added (55% vs. 22%).

Both Scenarios predict a drop in small households in the region by Year 2000 due to immigration and changing ethnic mix, although the drop is more significant in the High Scenario. They also suggest that the dwelling units of the future should be larger, or expanded to

⁶ Distributions are based on 1980 ethnic group percentages of small, medium, and large households applied to Year 2000 household estimates for each ethnic group.

accommodate more persons per household, especially in the High Scenario.

Because larger units are more expensive than smaller units, due to their size, housing affordability may become an issue. This may happen if increases in cost outpace increases in household income for the larger households expected to reside in the region. If a gap develops between housing costs and household income, then more overcrowding and overpayment problems may occur, especially among the ethnic groups most prone to these situations (i.e., overcrowding for Hispanics and overpayment for Blacks and Hispanics).

While the outlook is for many additional households to be larger than is characteristic of the 1980 distribution, the differences between the Year 2000 and 1980 distributions are small on a percentage basis. In the Low Scenario, there is a 2 percent drop in small households, and a 2 percent increase in large households and no change in the proportion of medium sized households. The High Scenario predicts a 5 percent drop in small households countered by a 4 percent increase in large households and a 1 percent increase in medium sized households. However, the numerical changes caused by these percentages shifts are significant as they involve .9 to 1.4 million households.

2. Average Household Sizes for the Future

No doubt the next 20 years promises to bring changes in our residential living patterns as dramatic as those that occurred over the last 20 years. After considerable analysis of various trends, a most likely average household size for each immigration scenario was developed for the Year 2000, as discussed above. Further analysis and refinement of this data will take place before persons per household data is finalized for SCAG-87. The projection for the various immigration scenarios is as follows:

<u>Low</u>	<u>Low Moderate</u>	<u>Moderate High</u>	<u>High</u>
2.66	2.69	2.74	2.85

In comparison, the 1980 regional persons per household figure was 2.73 based on a census data sample used for this report.

The differences in average household size among the four scenarios is due to the following factors:

- (a) Each scenario's assumption regarding the ethnic composition of the regional population based on various migration rates for each ethnic group.
- (b) Varying household sizes by ethnic group for 1970 and 1980 based on census data.
- (c) The assumption of a convergence of persons per household data for each ethnic group over time.

It should be noted that forecasts of this type, based on observed

trends, can be tenuous over time, due to unexpected changes in the variables used in the forecast, (i.e., ethnic mix, assimilation patterns, etc.).

3. Effect of the Various Household Size Forecasts on Housing Demand

Given the various persons per household projections shown above, the impacts on housing demand are shown below for all four immigration/ethnic scenarios and compared to SCAG's current forecast--SCAG-82. Each scenario assumes the same basic Year 2000 regional population total.

Table V-13

SCAG-82 Year 2000 Dwelling Unit Demand: 5,988,000
Net Annual Increase Per Year in Units 1980-2000: 78,000

Differences Under the Various Scenarios

	<u>Low</u>	<u>Low Moderate</u>	<u>High Moderate</u>	<u>High</u>
Year 2000 Total DUs:	5,977,422	5,896,238	5,803,748	5,529,287
Difference from SCAG-82	-10,578	-91,762	-184,252	-458,713
Net Annual Increase Per/Year In Units 1980-2000	<u>77,471</u>	<u>73,412</u>	<u>68,787</u>	<u>55,064</u>

As the data indicates, the various scenarios about immigration to the region could hold vastly different outcomes for housing demand on an annualized basis. These results are directly attributable to the various assumptions about what the actual household size will be for the year 2000. Between 1970 and 1980, annual regional housing unit demand averaged about 88,000 units per year (including replacements--note the above rates do not include replacements). The Low and Low Moderate scenarios are probably not a significant deviation from recent trends.

However, the High Moderate and certainly the High Scenarios portend an increase in regional household sizes and possibly a sharp decline in overall housing units needed. The Moderate High or High immigration scenario will generate a demand for larger units to accommodate a regional population with a higher persons per household average than exists today. This is why fewer units are projected to be needed under these scenarios. The need for larger units is counter to recent trends which have down-sized units to cut costs and make housing affordable for today's households. The increased demand, due to larger household sizes, may require relatively more emphasis on rehabilitation of older units and less emphasis on new construction in order to keep housing costs down, and housing prices affordable.

VI. PUBLIC HEALTH AND SOCIAL SERVICE IMPACTS

The focus of this section is on understanding any differences in the utilization of public health and social services by immigrants and residents/in-migrants, and to assess the potential impacts of continued provision of these services to additional immigrants arriving in the SCAG region between 1980 and 2000. There are three major questions: (1) how much immigrants use services income transfer programs (welfare, food stamps, unemployment compensation, etc.) and public health services; (2) whether immigrants contribute their share of federal, state, and local taxes; and (3) whether immigrants place a net burden on the public sector in terms of costs. This discussion expands on a brief review of these issues contained in the Economics section of this report. Most of the research that has been done has addressed Mexican immigrants, and illegal Mexican immigrants in particular. The discussion below summarizes findings reported in recent literature and includes an analysis of selected characteristics of immigrants, residents, and in-migrants to the SCAG region derived from the 1980 Census.

A. CURRENT TRENDS AND CHARACTERISTICS OF IMMIGRANTS

1. Immigrants Use of Income Transfer Programs and Public Health Services

In the Economics chapter of this report, it was noted that recent immigrants as a group are lower in educational attainment, income level, and labor force status than either in-migrant or resident groups; these factors could possibly indicate a greater need for public assistance by immigrants. However, as shown in Table VI-1, there is very little difference between immigrants and residents/in-migrants (1975-80) in the proportion of each group collecting federal public assistance income in 1979. In-migrants had a slightly lower (5.0%) proportion collecting payments under public assistance programs, and residents (6.9%) were somewhat higher than immigrants (6.2%). (It should be noted that the U.S.-born children of undocumented immigrants are included in the "resident" category, and are eligible for federal assistance programs.) Since the data available in the Census may not address the issue of undocumented immigrants receiving public assistance, this issue is explored further on through a literature review.

A factor that could influence the propensity of some element of a population to rely on public assistance for income or benefits is the age dependency ratio. (Other factors include household income and labor force participation rates.) This ratio compares the proportion of the population aged under 16 and over 64 with the working age population 16 to 64; due to lack of data for the population aged 0 to 4 by immigrant, in-migrant, and resident categories, the age dependency ratio here (and for the year 2000) is calculated for the population aged 5 through 15 to give an indication of the relationships in dependency factors among the three groups. A high dependency ratio means that more nonworkers in the society would have to be supported by workers. Table VI-2 shows that recent immigrants have a lower dependency ratio than either in-migrants or residents, due partly to the very low number of persons aged 65 and over coming into the region from other countries, as well as the "lone male" migration pattern that has

Table VI-1
Federal Public Assistance Income,¹ 1979, by
Household for the SCAG Region

	No Public Assis- tance Income	Received Public Assis- tance Income
Immigrants	93.8%	6.2%
In-migrants	95.0%	5.0%
Residents	93.1%	6.9%
Residents and In-migrants	93.3%	6.7%

¹ Includes cash receipts of payments made under the following public assistance programs: Aid to Families with Dependent Children, (AFDC) Old-Age Assistance, General Assistance, Aid to the Blind, and Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled. Separate payments for hospital or other medical care are excluded.

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1980.

traditionally characterized immigration from Mexico to the United States. Although this pattern is slowly changing, with longer stays and more permanent settlement and increased migration by women, children, and whole families, the temporary male migrant still predominates. (Cornelius, et al., 1982: 21.)

Table VI-2
Age Dependency Ratios for the SCAG Region, 1980

	5-15	16-64	65+	Ratio	$\frac{(5-15 + 65+)}{16 \text{ thru } 64}$
Immigrants	19.3%	77.7%	3.1%		28.8%
In-migrants	17.9%	76.5%	5.5%		30.1%
Residents	18.6%	70.1%	11.4%		42.7%
Residents and In-migrants	18.5%	70.1%	10.7%		41.2%
Total Population	18.5%	71.1%	10.3%		40.6%

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1980.

Most studies corroborate that there is a relatively low use of welfare assistance and other programs, such as food stamps and unemployment compensation, by undocumented Mexican immigrants. Cornelius, et al. cite a number of findings placing the proportion of use or cost of AFDC, welfare, Medi-Cal, and food stamp programs/budgets in Southern California counties going to undocumented Mexican immigrants at less than 1% during the mid-1970's. Under current law, undocumented immigrants are not eligible to receive benefits from federally funded income transfer programs, although their U.S.-born children are eligible, nor are they entitled to collect unemployment compensation. Today, screening procedures for potential welfare recipients are stricter, and many applications for welfare benefits are withdrawn when applicants are asked to document their legal residence status. (Cornelius, 1982: 60-61)

Despite these findings, a study by David North showed that 77% of a group of undocumented workers who were deported in 1975 had returned to the U.S. within five years, and of those 35% had at some time collected unemployment insurance. To some extent, the U.S. born children of illegal immigrants are receiving aid--the State of California Health and Welfare Agency found that in 1981, 9% of all households receiving AFDC benefits in the City of Los Angeles included at least one illegal immigrant (Heer, 1984).

The service most desired and utilized by Mexican immigrants is health care, particularly obstetric care. The Houston and North study (1976) cited in the Economics section reported that 27.4 percent of the undocumented immigrants sampled used hospitals and clinics. It is likely that undocumented immigrants use services less than legal immigrants out of fear of detection. A Los Angeles study found that up to 98 percent of the undocumented Mexicans sampled were prepared to pay for the medical services they received with their own funds (Baca and Bryan, 1980, cited in Cornelius, et al., 1982: 63), and a study in San Diego County found the overwhelming majority of undocumented Mexican immigrants sampled paid their medical expenses with personal funds. Undocumented Mexican are also characterized as being among the minority of patients who pay cash at public hospitals and clinics, as this eliminates questions about immigration status. (Cornelius, et al., 1982: 63) Except in the case of large, acute-care hospitals, undocumented Mexican immigrants' records of payments have been found to be as good as those of legal immigrants and of American citizens. It is likely that one of the reasons for non-payment of bills for acute care is related to the undocumented immigrants' desire to pay cash, causing them to postpone treatment until the problem becomes acute. (Cornelius et al., 1982: 63-64) In fact, this pattern seems to characterize most of undocumented immigrants' use of public health care: "Rather than excessive dependence . . . , there is a dominant pattern of under utilization. This stems not only from their fear of detection and apprehension by immigration authorities, but also . . . (because) . . . (1) long-term undocumented residents who want to legalize their status must overcome the "public charge" barrier." (Hernandez, 1983) Consequently, undocumented immigrants tend to lack continuity in medical care, limiting the effectiveness of care. (Morrison, 1979: 11.)

A special health care problem related to recent immigration is mental health care, particularly for refugees whose experiences in their native countries may have caused them mental distress. There are an estimated 200,000 immigrants who have fled persecution in Southeast Asia, Central America and the Middle East living in Southern California. (Igler, 1984). More than 50,000 Indochinese refugees live in Orange County, and the Orange County Human Relations Commission estimates that about 10% have serious mental illnesses and another 50% suffer depression or marginal mental illness. (Holley, 1983). Immigration under any circumstances can produce adjustment problems, but studies have found a strong correlation between residential clustering of the foreign born and low incidence of mental illness.

2. Immigrants' Contributions to Taxes

The Economic section reports on a study by Houston and North (1976) of contributions by undocumented immigrants to federal income taxes, social security taxes, and hospitalization insurance programs, and The Fourth Wave (1984) findings on Mexican immigrant households' contributions to State income tax. Both studies indicated a high percentage of immigrant contributions, particularly to income tax and social security. However, a low percentage (31.5%) of undocumented immigrants file federal income tax returns, due to fear of detection, and consequently fail to claim refunds entitled them due to their low income and number of dependents. Other studies cited in Cornelius, et al. (1982) have made similar findings:

- A 1978 Orange County Task Force found that 88% of illegal immigrants had Social Security taxes withheld from their wages, and 70% had federal and state income taxes withheld.
- A study of the garment and restaurant industries in Los Angeles showed 92% of the undocumented garment workers and 87% of undocumented restaurant workers reported taxes were deducted from their wages.
- The U.S. Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy found in 1980 that ". . . illegal migrants pay taxes consistent with their earnings level."

Undocumented Mexican immigrants also pay state sales and excise taxes, as well as property taxes through their rents. (Cornelius, et al., 1982, 53-54). Overall, the contributions of legal and illegal Mexican immigrants to the financing of public services appears to be significant.

3. Net Costs of Providing Public Services to Immigrants

It seems clear from the above discussion of tax revenues that undocumented immigrants' contributions to federal income tax and Social Security are substantial; in fact, the Social Security Administration reportedly nets an estimated \$80 billion annually in payments from individuals who will never collect benefits. (Newsweek, 1984: 23) However, data shows also that state and local governments in areas where undocumented immigrants are concentrated--notably California, Texas, and New York City--are bearing an inordinate share of costs for educational and medical services. It was

reported in the Economics section that the average Mexican immigrant household in California receives \$2,000 more in state services and transfer payments than it pays in taxes. (Muller, 1984: 19-20) This is not surprising as other groups--Mexican-Americans, blacks, and whites with two or more school-age children attending public school--also pay less in taxes in California than they receive in services. This imbalance is due less to nonpayment of taxes than to low income (and thus low tax contributions) and above-average number of dependents.

Cornelius, et al., (1982: 56-60) also cite a number of studies that indicate that the State of California and counties in Southern California expend more than they receive through taxes and fees in providing health care and other services to undocumented immigrants. Net costs were estimated at \$59 million by the State of California in 1976, \$118.5 million by Los Angeles County in 1982, \$80 to \$143 million by Orange County in 1977, and \$11 to \$22 million by San Diego County in 1980; these estimates are considered by Cornelius to be rough and probably overstated, as administrative records are generally not kept in a way that tracks illegal immigrants or the cash payments they actually pay for medical care.

The reason that state and local governments are expending more than they are receiving is that the bulk of tax revenues go to the federal government, while the burden of providing services rests at the nonfederal levels. Sixty percent of total taxes paid by undocumented immigrants goes to the federal government, 30% to the state, and only 10% to local governments, and with these workers and their families being ineligible for federal programs such as Medicaid and welfare, there is a strong case made by many that the federal government should assume immigrant health care costs that are currently provided by County and State governments. (Cornelius, et al.: 64-68). The Simpson-Mazzoli immigration reform bill (HR. 1510), two separate versions of which passed the House and Senate this year, also contains provisions that would increase social-welfare costs to state and local governments, while barring newly legalized aliens from almost all federally funded social welfare programs. (Taylor, 1984)

B. IMPACTS OF IMMIGRATION, 1980-2000

It is difficult to project the potential impacts of immigration on health and social services as the extent of existing demand for these services has not been clearly identified. Tables VI-3 and VI-4 show that there will be a slightly higher age dependency ratio for all categories of the population in 2000 than there was in 1980. This is true for both the High and Low Scenario. The dependency ratio for immigrants is slightly lower than that of residents and in-migrants, despite a larger segment of the immigrant population in the less than 16 age category, because there is a very small estimated proportion 65 years and over. The higher age dependency ratios could indicate a small increase in need for public assistance in all segments of the population, depending on other variables and conditions, such as income levels and labor force participation rates.

Table VI-3
Age Dependency Ratios for the SCAG Region, 2000:
High Immigration Scenario

	5-15	16-64	65+	Ratio $\frac{(5-15 + 65+)}{16-64}$
Immigrants ¹	22.2%	74.3%	3.5%	34.6%
Residents and In-migrants	16.7%	70.0%	13.8%	44.0%
Total Population	18.0%	70.6%	11.5%	41.7%

1 This category is distorted slightly, as it includes all immigrants over the 20 year study period (instead of recent immigrants as of year 2000), as well as U.S. born children of immigrants.

Table VI-4
Age Dependency Ratios for the SCAG Region 2000:
Low Immigration Scenario

	5-15	16-64	65+	Ratio $\frac{(5-15 + 65+)}{16-64}$
Immigrants ¹	21.8%	72.8%	5.4%	37.4%
Residents and In-migrants	17.5%	17.2%	12.3%	42.5%
Total Population	17.8%	70.4%	11.8%	42.1%

1 This category is distorted slightly, as it includes all immigrants over the 20 year study period (instead of recent immigrants as of year 2000), as well as U.S. born children of immigrants.

The most important factor likely to affect public health and social services to immigrants between now and 2000, particularly under the High Immigration Scenario, will be whether or not the federal government will step in to provide assistance to state and local governments currently bearing the burden. According to a Rand Corporation study:

" . . . the present de facto arrangement, whereby responsibility for the health care of disadvantaged city-dwellers and undocumented persons falls squarely on those localities where such persons congregate, poses a serious issue of intergovernmental fiscal relations. Future demographic trends will steadily increase the pressure for federal involvement in this problem, and the pressure will intensify all the more whenever a fiscal limitation law is passed or immigration comes under discussion." (Morrison, 1979: 11).

A second issue foreseen in the Rand study is the effect of the American-born offspring of undocumented immigrants on future demand for social services, particularly health care. These children represent a partially unregistered demand that may not be included in forecasts of health care needs. (Morrison, 1979: 10).

To sum up, the impacts of immigration on the provision of public health and social services in the region will depend both on the level of immigration and the extent to which the federal government assumes responsibility for many of the costs.

VII. PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION IMPACTS

The question discussed here is whether there are currently significant differences in public transit usage between immigrant and nonimmigrant components of the overall population¹. A clearer understanding of current differences, if any, also enables us to look at future possible changes in the immigrant and ethnic composition of the region to determine possible impacts on public transportation needs. Many factors are already moving the region towards provision of increased transit services and facilities, including high auto congestion levels, poor air quality, lack of adequate space for expanding or adding new roadways, and increasing densities. Further demographic changes in the region could be still another factor.

A. CURRENT PATTERNS OF TRANSIT USE²

Are there differences in transit usage between immigrant populations and nonimmigrant populations in the SCAG region? The 1980 U.S. Census data clearly shows that recent immigrants as a group rely on public transit as a major means of commuting to work much more heavily than do nonimmigrants, as shown below:

Table VII-1
% Immigrant and Nonimmigrant Workers Using Public Transit
SCAG Region, 1980

Group	NH White	Hispanic	Black	Asian/Other	Total
Immigrants	9.6	23.2	24.0	13.0	18.3
Nonimmigrants	2.6	8.0	11.9	5.2	4.5
Total	2.8	9.8	12.0	6.7	5.2

¹ In this study, immigrants are defined as recent immigrants. They had lived in the U.S. five years or less as of 1980. Nonimmigrants include residents of the SCAG region for over five years and in-migrants from other parts of the U.S. who have migrated since 1975.

² This section is based mainly on 1980 U.S. Census information which looked at public transit use for work trips, only, and not other trip purposes. Public transit was defined as including bus, rail, and taxi.

Over 18 percent of recent immigrant workers rely on public transit, compared with 4.5 percent of nonimmigrant workers. Why is there such a significant difference in transit usage between immigrants and nonimmigrants? One possibility is the language barrier of many recent immigrants, which may act as both a deterrent to using private vehicles and as an inducement to using public transit. More specifically, immigrants as compared to nonimmigrants may not want to drive because they do not understand road messages and symbols, because of language barriers involved with taking written driving exams, because they are unfamiliar with relatively new surroundings, and/or because their main means of transportation in their native country was not by private vehicle. In this context, use of public transit may simply be easier to rely on than private means.

The above table also shows some other interesting differences:

- There are differences in transit usage among different ethnic subgroups of the recent immigrants: Black and Hispanic immigrants use transit more than Asian/Other immigrants, and White immigrants use transit less than all three of the former groups. It is unclear what factors account for these differences.
- There are also differences in transit usage among different ethnic subgroups of the nonimmigrant population. Black workers use transit more heavily than the other ethnic groups, followed by Hispanics, Asians/Others, and lastly Whites. There may be several factors that explain these differences, including differences in proximity to transit services, income patterns, and car ownership patterns among the four ethnic groups of nonimmigrants. In terms of proximity, a much greater percentage of the Black and Hispanic nonimmigrants lived in Los Angeles County in 1980 (89% and 74% respectively) compared with the White population (58%), and the county has much more extensive transit services available than other counties in the region. In fact, all ethnic groups use transit at higher rates in Los Angeles County than the remainder of counties, due to greater availability of transit services: For example, about 12 percent of Hispanic workers in Los Angeles County use public transit, compared with 4 percent of Hispanic workers in Orange County, and 3.8 percent of White workers in Los Angeles County use transit compared with 1.8 percent of White workers in Orange County.
- Despite relatively high usage of transit by recent immigrants (18.3%) as compared to nonimmigrants (4.5%), the overall transit usage of the total population (immigrants and nonimmigrants combined) is only 5.2 percent. This is because the number of nonimmigrants greatly exceeds the number of immigrants in absolute terms.

The second factor which may explain the difference in transit usage between recent immigrants and nonimmigrants is vehicle availability. Numerous studies have shown a high correlation between vehicle nonavailability and public transit use. For example, nearly 50% of SCRTD riders do not have household automobiles, according to a 1984 sample ridership survey. As shown in the table below, a substantially greater proportion of recent immigrant households did not own or have a vehicle available, compared with nonimmigrant households.

Table VII-2
% Of Households With No Vehicle Available
SCAG Region, 1980

Group	NH White	Hispanic	Black	Asian/Other	Total
Immigrants	12.6	27.8	20.5	16.4	20.5
Nonimmigrants	7.7	13.2	21.8	8.0	9.9
Total	8.0	14.2	21.4	9.6	10.4

In addition to the overall differences in vehicle availability between immigrants and nonimmigrants, there are differences in vehicle availability among the ethnic groups that comprise these two populations: Of recent immigrants, there is a greater proportion of Hispanics and Blacks without vehicles than the other two groups. The same trend is evident among ethnic groups in the nonimmigrant population. Also, Hispanic and Black households represent 43 percent of the 10.4 percent of all households in the region with no vehicle availability.

The differences in vehicle availability and public transit use between immigrants and nonimmigrants (as well as within ethnic subcomponents of each of these two groups) are probably tied to still a third factor--income. Numerous studies of transit use have shown a strong correlation between income, auto availability and transit use. The lower the income, the greater the likelihood that an individual does not have an available vehicle, and the greater the propensity to use transit. In fact, 40 percent of the SCRTD ridership has incomes less than \$10,000, based on a recent sample survey. The following table shows the income distribution of immigrant and nonimmigrant workers. The data reveals that 25 percent of immigrant workers earned less than \$10,000 compared with about 11 percent of nonimmigrant workers.

Table VII-3
% Income Distribution (\$000) of Workers
SCAG Region, 1980

Group	-\$10	\$10-15	\$15-25	\$15-35	\$35 +	Total
Immigrants	25.0	18.6	29.4	15.0	12.0	100.0
Nonimmigrants	10.7	11.5	26.7	22.8	28.4	100.0
Total	11.3	11.8	26.8	22.3	27.8	100.0

The next table shows the percentage of immigrant and nonimmigrant workers in various income categories that actually used public transit as their major means of commuting to work. Usage rates among ethnic subcomponents of each group are also shown. Some very striking differences are apparent:

- In all income categories, recent immigrants as a group use public transit at higher rates than nonimmigrants at comparable incomes. For example, nearly 26 percent of immigrant workers earning less than \$10,000 use transit as a commuting mode, compared to under 11% of nonimmigrants in the same income class. Language or cultural barriers again may be one major reason for these differences.
- Although recent immigrants have proportionately lower incomes than nonimmigrants, they use public transit less as their income rises. Nearly 26 percent of immigrant workers earning less than \$10,000 use transit, compared with 8.7 percent of immigrant workers earning more than \$35,000. The same tendencies are evident among the nonimmigrant population although, of course, the rate of transit usage is less than immigrants in all comparable income categories, as mentioned above.
- Striking differences are also apparent among ethnic subcomponents of the immigrants: In all ethnic groups, the lower the income, the greater the use of transit; however, what is perhaps even more interesting is that when income is held constant, certain ethnic groups show a greater propensity for transit use. For example, Hispanic and Black immigrant workers making less than \$10,000 use transit at much higher comparative rates than do White and Asian/Other immigrant workers. Again, locational differences (i.e., greater proximity to transit services) may be one factor explaining the differences in transit use among the ethnic groups.

Table VII-4
% of Workers Using Transit Within Different
Income Categories (\$000)
SCAG Region, 1980

Group	-\$10	\$10-15	\$15-25	\$25-35	\$35 +	All Incomes
<u>All Immigrants</u>	25.8	20.8	15.2	16.2	8.7	18.3
NH White	14.8	9.9	6.7	10.8	5.2	9.6
Hispanic	30.8	24.3	19.1	22.3	11.0	23.2
Black	33.3	28.6	15.8	0.0	33.3	24.0
Asian/Other	19.2	17.1	10.5	11.6	8.7	13.0
<u>All Nonimmigrants</u>	10.9	7.3	4.6	3.1	2.1	4.5
NH White	5.8	4.6	2.8	2.1	1.5	2.6
Hispanic	16.5	9.8	7.0	5.1	3.8	8.0
Black	22.2	14.9	10.9	7.1	6.1	11.9
Asian/Other	8.5	9.5	6.0	4.5	3.2	5.2
<u>Total</u>	12.4	8.3	5.1	3.5	2.3	5.2

B. PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION IMPLICATIONS/ IMPACTS OF FUTURE IMMIGRATION SCENARIOS

Over the next 20 years there will likely be a greater demand for transit services by the population-at-large, compared with today. The region will grow by a predicted 3 million people, and as roadways become more and more congested, more people may turn to transit. In addition, as more transit services are incrementally made available, such as the Metro Rail Starter Line and various light-rail lines, transit in general may become more attractive as a viable mode of transportation.

Aside from these factors, could there be a greater proportional demand for transit services due to continued immigration and predicted changes in the overall ethnic mix of the region? This is a difficult question to answer, much less to quantify. However, this section attempts to make some speculations, based on the High and Low immigration scenarios. Of necessity it is assumed that current transit usage factors, socioeconomic characteristics, income levels, and locational patterns of different groups will continue into the future, even though this is not necessarily a valid assumption.

The High Scenario of immigration could cause relatively greater increases in demand for transit services, inasmuch as 91 percent of the net growth to the region during the 1980-2000 time horizon would be from immigration! (The region is predicted to grow by 3.1 million people. The components of this growth are 2.8 million immigrants and the natural increase of 2.0 million by base residents and immigrants, but the net out-migration of 1.8 million residents.) These changes mean that much of the additional net growth to the region will be by immigrants who at least today have shown much higher transit usage patterns than nonimmigrants. In addition, the resultant ethnic mix of the region by Year 2000 could cause greater increases in transit demand than otherwise expected, inasmuch as the region would have a greater proportion of those ethnic groups that currently demonstrate greater transit usage. For example, Hispanics, Blacks, and Asian/Others would make up 58 percent of the population compared to 49 percent of the population in 1980.

In the Low Scenario, there would be a relative slowing of immigration over the next 20 years, with only about 28 percent of the total net population growth of 3 million people attributable to immigration. The net addition of 3 million people will certainly increase overall travel demand, but a relatively smaller percentage of this population growth will be from immigrants, compared with recent trends. (During 1975-1980, immigration accounted for about 55% of net regional population growth.) The amount of immigration in the Low Scenario (880,000) would be expected to cause smaller increases in transit demand than is otherwise expected assuming continuation of today's immigration trends.

VIII. SOCIAL AND CULTURAL IMPACTS

The analysis of social and cultural changes occurring in the SCAG region due to recent high levels of immigration is a serious subject deserving careful research. However, this chapter focuses on the impacts apparent to today's observers, the changes taking place in the environment that can be seen, issues that emerge in local newspapers, radio, and television, and patterns that have been described in the national media. This analysis also differs markedly from that used in the other, more quantifiable, topic areas examined in this report, as census data would be inadequate to describe the subjective nature of social and cultural changes.

Recent immigration has already caused a marked change in the social and cultural environment of Los Angeles and the rest of the SCAG region. The effects have been so dramatic that they have recently been featured in articles in Time, Los Angeles, The Economist, and several Rand Corporation publications. Kevin McCarthy of Rand calls California the "Ellis Island of the '80s" (McCarthy, 1983:59). Time writes "The exotic multitudes are altering the collective beat and bop of Los Angeles, the city's smells and colors," (Time, 1983:18). Los Angeles magazine published a special "Ethnic Los Angeles" guide for Olympics visitors. The Economist notes that "...all of America is moving slowly towards an ethnic balance: one that reflects the world instead of just Europe," and that "California will get there first." (The Economist, 1984:16). And, as has been described in this report and the accompanying one, in many respects, Los Angeles is already there.

The social features of the region that have been and will continue to be affected by immigration and which affect immigrants include: (1) the settlement patterns of immigrant/ethnic groups and their patterns of assimilation/acculturation (i.e., the adoption of characteristics of another culture by minority or immigrant groups), (2) the rate of acculturation of immigrant groups; and (3) interactions among ethnic groups, including "race relations" and political involvement. Cultural features include: (1) the changing visual/architectural character of the region; (2) changes in the arts (dance, theater, film, music, painting, etc.) and cuisine of the region; and (3) growth in representation of the world's religions.

A. CURRENT SOCIAL/CULTURAL IMPACTS

1. Social

Southern California has long been a focus of in-migration and immigration. When Spanish and Mexican settlement began in 1769, Southern California was populated by 30,000 Native Americans (McWilliams, 1973). In 1846, the last Mexican Governor of California stated: "We find ourselves suddenly threatened by hordes of Yankee emigrants... whose progress we cannot arrest." (Time, 1983:18). Since that time, successive waves of migration have swelled the state's and the region's population. In-migration from other areas of the U.S. has continued since that time. Both White and Black in-migration intensified during the 1880s as did Chinese immigration

during the 1880's and 1890's, and immigration from Europe, Asia, and the Middle East has occurred since the 1890s. A resurgence of immigration from Mexico began after 1900, strengthening during the 1920s (McWilliams, 1973). Today, most of the region's new immigrants come from Latin America and Asia, instead of Europe.

Distinct ethnic communities have long been established in various locations in the Los Angeles basin, and new immigrants are establishing new communities or settling in existing ones. Historically, the east side of Los Angeles has been a major area of first settlement for immigrant groups in Southern California (McWilliams, 1973:322). Now, East Los Angeles is a predominantly Latino community. The largest concentration of Blacks in the region is the south central area of Los Angeles. Asian communities include Koreatown and Chinatown, near downtown Los Angeles. There are numerous other ethnic and immigrant neighborhoods throughout the urbanized portion of the region, as well as cultural centers, such as Little Tokyo, that serve as a business and social focal points for ethnic groups. Ironically, many who live in White enclaves in Los Angeles and who travel only on freeways are as yet unaware of many of the changes taking place in their city. The current location within the region of the various ethnic and immigrant groups is further described in a separate section of these reports.

The traditional "melting pot" image of assimilation into the U.S. culture has been replaced by the metaphor of a rainbow or salad (Time, 1983:20). Many immigrants, both past and present, want to retain their ethnic identity by preserving their customs and languages. This has resulted in a pattern of selective assimilation in which individuals participate fully in the American culture, at the same time that they practice the customs of their homelands, speak the language of their original cultures, and socialize primarily with others of the same ethnicity. This is particularly noticeable to others when visiting certain ethnic communities, when, for example, many are celebrating Nisei Week, Mexican Independence Day, or the Chinese New Year.

In many ways, segregation and non-assimilation may also be enforced by the predominant culture, rather than being voluntary on the part of individuals. Housing and job opportunities may be limited outside ethnic enclaves or jobs unavailable for those who do not speak English, and the culture may be intimidating to the uninitiated. (Since the late 1960s, a series of laws has been passed to abolish "redlining," and require equal housing and job opportunities.) Among those who do not choose to assimilate, one motive may be a desire to return to their homeland; many Mexican and Latin American immigrants, Iranians, and others who have fled persecution or war in their homelands may view their stay here as temporary.

Latinos in the region have been particularly strong in maintaining the Latino culture. Despite a great deal of diversity in the Latino population of the U.S., which includes Mexicans and Central and South Americans, as well as Puerto Ricans, and Cubans, Latinos share many cultural traits, including the Spanish language, and the Roman Catholic religion. Most want to retain their culture and identity and at the same time participate in the national economic and social life (Los Angeles Times, 1983). The

relative ease with which many Mexican immigrants travel back and forth between the U.S. and homeland also serves as a cultural reinforcement (Ford Foundation, 1984). Other ethnic groups, with smaller representation in the region, have made similar efforts to retain their identity.

Acculturation generally increases as successive generations of immigrant families take their place in American society. The children of immigrants grow up watching American television, eating MacDonald hamburgers, learning English in their neighborhoods and in the schools, attending American colleges, and entering the U.S. job market. Intermarriage is another catalyst for acculturation: for example, as many as 60% of the Japanese in Los Angeles marry non-Japanese and 40% of Mexican Americans marry across ethnic lines (Time, 1983). Residential segregation is an important factor influencing the rate at which acculturation occurs: segregation according to ethnic group slows down acculturation, as individuals have less opportunity for interacting with others in different ethnic groups.

Ethnic diversity and the presence of many varied immigrant groups in the region offers many opportunities for creativity and learning as individuals and groups from different backgrounds relate to each other. However, this diversity can, and has, led to frictions and group conflicts (such as the Watts Riots): in some areas, ethnic groups carry with them the prejudices of their native countries and established populations have preconceptions regarding the immigrants; new arrivals find themselves in the territory of an established group; people do not understand each other's languages and customs; and, in general, when there are not enough jobs or housing to go around, groups may tend to blame each other. Some of these prejudices and group conflicts were catalogued in the recent Time article on ethnic Los Angeles; some quotes:

"There is a huge difference between kids born here and kids born in Mexico." (A teacher whose students are mostly illegal immigrants.)

"I am a Latino. I'll never feel Anglo." (A 28-year old Mexican-American graduate of USC, raised in East Los Angeles.)

"I see these Spanish coming in and buying businesses." (A Black small businessman in Watts.)

"We all looked up one day, and everybody pumping gas seemed to be Asian." (A Black activist.)

"Oh, we see them a lot. They come out here (to the city hall mall) on one of their holidays with all of these fish and these kites. It's very nice." (A white resident of Gardena, talking about the Japanese residents of the city.)

Efforts to improve relations between different ethnic groups have recently been noted in the Los Angeles Times. A Los Angeles County Human Relations Commission report issued in June 1983 found bias against Asian-Americans growing, particularly in the San Gabriel Valley. To counteract this prejudice, the commission will recruit Asians to explain their cultures to non-Asians as part of an education campaign (Simon, 1983). Churches in the Black and Korean communities in Los Angeles have initiated intercultural

exchanges to enable the two communities to get to know each other, and a Korean-American Coalition was formed recently to heighten awareness of the Korean community (McMillan, 1984). These are but a few examples.

One of the most publicized areas of race relations is gang activity. A small percentage of youths in different ethnic groups in the Los Angeles County are members of street gangs. For example, a UCLA researcher has found that 3% to 5% of the Latino youths in East Los Angeles belong to street gangs at one time or another (Los Angeles Times, 1983). While White, Black, and Mexican gang members are generally nonimmigrants, there is a higher proportion of immigrants among Asian gangs.

The political influence of immigrants is currently less pronounced than their numbers would indicate. This is due primarily, of course, to the fact that it takes five years for immigrants to become eligible for citizenship. Other factors include the large number of undocumented immigrants and language barriers for naturalized citizens (although non-English ballots are available). Naturalization rates are extremely low for Mexican immigrants to the U.S.; only 2.2% of Mexicans who entered the U.S. as permanent resident aliens in 1971 had become U.S. citizens eight years later (Cornelius, et al., 1982:71-72). This failure to naturalize excludes large segments of the Hispanic population from political office, and reduces the accountability of elected officials to the Hispanic community (Ford Foundation, 1984:45). In addition, voting rates for the Mexican-American community as a whole are considerably lower than for the rest of the U.S. population (Cornelius, et al., 1982:71-73). Thus, while the latent political power of Latinos in the region and in Los Angeles, particularly, is enormous, they are currently less effective than the more organized Black and Jewish groups. No Latinos currently sit on the Los Angeles City Council or Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors. However, within the past two years, two Latinos have been elected as U.S. Congressmen and the first Hispanic woman elected to the State Assembly; in addition, currently, one member of the Los Angeles School Board is Hispanic. Asian political activism is increasing in Los Angeles as young attorneys and business people move into campaigns and government as contributors and workers (Boyarsky, 1984).

2. Culture

The effects of immigration can be seen in the evolving architectural/visual environment of Los Angeles and other areas in the region where the newcomers have located. In many areas, there is an emerging melange of architectural styles, signs, faces, and activities. Spanish-style architecture has long been a dominant theme in Southern California buildings and residences, as have Asian design features used in architecture and gardens. These influences are currently being intensified, not only in ethnic communities and cultural centers, but also in homes and public and commercial buildings elsewhere in the urban and residential areas of the region. Near downtown Los Angeles, where many ethnic communities merge, the medley of languages on shop signs and bill boards, and the presence of Buddhist temples, Japanese gardens, and Mexican "mercados" is both chaotic and exciting, strange and inviting.

No single feature of this new ethnic Los Angeles is more inviting than the

food. The choices seem endless: Thai or Korean barbecue, a Kosher burrito stand, hundreds of sushi bars, Armenian pizza, British pubs. When Angelenos go out to eat, they first must agree on an ethnicity. And it is the food which is for many their first introduction to a new culture, the first in a series of experiences that ultimately break down the barriers and make the immigrant groups known.

Similarly, the changing ethnicity of the region has broadened the cultural arts. Immigrants to Southern California have made numerous contributions to the artistic resources of the region; many of these are housed in the ethnic cultural centers, such as Little Tokyo and Koreatown. Many different kinds of ethnic music have been introduced into the region by immigrants. The film industry has been heavily influenced by immigrant creative and technical contributions, as well as performers. Some Spanish-language films have recently attracted wide audiences, enjoying long engagements. Freeway murals are a highly visible expression of Hispanic and other ethnic cultures. The Olympics Arts Festival stimulated the interest of many in the culture and arts of other countries, even where the language or medium was not familiar. Festivals occur year-round in various parts of the Los Angeles basin, celebrated by many different ethnic groups. In addition, new sports, such as soccer and the martial arts, have gained popularity in the region. The exchange of experiences and ideas through arts and entertainment can only grow.

B. EFFECTS OF IMMIGRATION, 1980-2000

It is difficult to predict the potential social and cultural effects of continued immigration on the SCAG region between now and 2000. Some qualitative statements about certain topics can be made, however:

- With increased numbers of immigrants entering the region, there will be both an increase in the concentration of ethnic cultures--language, religion, customs, food, etc.--in certain areas, and at the same time spreading of these characteristics to the rest of the region.
- Race relations could improve, with an increasing number of opportunities for cross-cultural experiences, but there will likely be continued instances of conflict.
- The political power of immigrants could increase, with individuals gaining citizenship and the accompanying right to vote, and with recognition of the need to organize and influence the political system.

The 20-year forecast period promises to be an educational experience for the region as it learns to accommodate and enjoy the cultures of the world.

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APPENDIX A

HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS

Figures in some tables may not correspond to each other due to different sampling methodologies applied to 1980 Census data.

1980 HOUSEHOLD AND POPULATION DATA

	REGIONAL			RESIDENTS OVER 5 YEARS		
	<u>HHS</u>	<u>POP</u>	<u>PPH</u>	<u>HHS</u>	<u>POP</u>	<u>PPH</u>
HISPANIC	724,540	2,793,860	3.86	624,700	2,407,300	3.85
BLACK	366,500	1,027,940	2.80	322,420	918,660	2.85
ASIAN	205,740	669,920	3.26	138,900	440,760	3.17
WHITE	2,878,520	6,917,760	2.40	2,481,120	5,992,760	2.42
TOTAL	4,175,300	11,409,480	2.73	3,567,140	9,759,480	2.74

	RECENT IN-MIGRANTS -- USA			RECENT IMMIGRANTS -- ABROAD		
	<u>HHS</u>	<u>POP</u>	<u>PPH</u>	<u>HHS</u>	<u>POP</u>	<u>PPH</u>
HISPANIC	45,720	134,960	2.95	54,120	251,600	4.65
BLACK	42,520	105,120	2.47	1,560	4,160	2.67
ASIAN	26,320	74,080	2.81	40,520	155,080	3.83
WHITE	367,800	838,560	2.28	29,600	86,440	2.92
TOTAL	482,360	1,152,720	2.39	125,800	497,280	3.95

**1980 HOUSEHOLD BY SIZE AND ETHNICITY
SCAG REGION**

	REGION				RESIDENTS OVER 5 YEARS			
	<u>SMALL</u>	<u>MEDIUM</u>	<u>LARGE</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>SMALL</u>	<u>MEDIUM</u>	<u>LARGE</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
HISP	227,240	269,360	227,940	724,540	192,400	231,320	200,980	624,700
NHB	189,500	117,060	59,940	366,500	164,140	103,300	54,980	322,420
NHO	89,120	73,580	43,040	205,740	61,800	50,060	27,040	138,900
NHW	<u>1,812,140</u>	<u>818,960</u>	<u>247,420</u>	<u>2,878,520</u>	<u>1,558,660</u>	<u>708,840</u>	<u>213,620</u>	<u>2,481,120</u>
TOTAL	2,318,000	1,278,960	578,340	4,175,300	1,977,000	1,093,520	496,620	3,567,140

	RECENT IMMIGRANTS FROM ABROAD				RECENT IN-MIGRANTS FROM THE USA			
	<u>SMALL</u>	<u>MEDIUM</u>	<u>LARGE</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>SMALL</u>	<u>MEDIUM</u>	<u>LARGE</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
HISP	16,480	20,920	16,720	54,120	18,360	17,120	10,240	45,720
NHB	1,000	440	120	1,560	24,360	13,320	4,840	42,520
NHO	14,280	14,920	11,320	40,520	13,040	8,600	4,680	26,320
NHW	<u>13,120</u>	<u>11,840</u>	<u>4,640</u>	<u>29,600</u>	<u>240,360</u>	<u>98,280</u>	<u>29,160</u>	<u>367,800</u>
TOTAL	44,880	48,120	32,800	125,800	296,120	137,320	48,920	482,360

Source: 1980 Census Data

NOTE: Household Size

Small -- 1 and 2 persons per household
Medium -- 3 and 4 persons per household
Large -- 5 plus persons per household

**1980 TENURE DATA
SCAG REGION**

	REGION			RESIDENTS OVER 5 YEARS		
	<u>OWNER</u>	<u>RENTER</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>OWNER</u>	<u>RENTER</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
HISP	280,820	413,920	694,740	268,500	326,400	594,900
NHB	146,720	214,780	361,500	140,800	176,620	317,420
NHO	100,960	97,300	198,260	80,640	50,780	131,420
NHW	<u>1,570,440</u>	<u>1,098,400</u>	<u>2,668,840</u>	<u>1,440,920</u>	<u>830,520</u>	<u>2,271,400</u>
TOTAL	2,098,940	1,824,400	3,923,340	1,930,860	1,384,320	3,315,180

	RECENT IMMIGRANTS FROM ABROAD			RECENT IN-MIGRANTS FROM THE USA		
	<u>OWNER</u>	<u>RENTER</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>OWNER</u>	<u>RENTER</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
HISP	3,680	50,440	54,120	8,640	37,080	45,720
NHB	200	1,360	1,560	5,720	36,800	42,520
NHO	10,160	30,360	40,520	10,160	16,160	26,320
NHW	<u>7,920</u>	<u>21,860</u>	<u>29,600</u>	<u>121,600</u>	<u>246,200</u>	<u>367,800</u>
TOTAL	21,960	103,840	125,800	146,120	336,240	482,360

Source: 1980 Census

**1980 HOUSEHOLD BY BUILDING TYPE
SCAG REGION**

	REGION					RESIDENTS OVER 5 YEARS				
	<u>CONDO</u>	<u>MDU</u>	<u>MHOME</u>	<u>SDU</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>CONDO</u>	<u>MDU</u>	<u>MHOME</u>	<u>SDU</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
HISP	11,280	287,800	6,120	389,540	694,740	8,560	223,680	4,920	357,740	594,900
NHB	5,020	163,780	1,080	191,620	361,500	3,860	133,620	880	179,060	317,420
NHO	7,920	81,340	1,940	107,060	198,260	4,320	44,620	1,620	80,860	131,420
NHW	<u>146,740</u>	<u>824,660</u>	<u>107,420</u>	<u>1,590,020</u>	<u>2,668,840</u>	<u>119,460</u>	<u>630,860</u>	<u>92,020</u>	<u>1,429,100</u>	<u>2,271,440</u>
TOTAL	170,960	1,357,580	116,560	2,278,240	3,923,340	136,200	1,032,780	99,440	2,046,760	3,315,180

RECENT IMMIGRANTS FROM ABROAD

	<u>CONDO</u>	<u>MDU</u>	<u>MHOME</u>	<u>SDU</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
HISP	1,360	38,200	600	13,960	54,120
NHB	40	1,320	0	200	1,560
NHO	1,720	23,760	160	14,880	40,520
NHW	<u>1,760</u>	<u>17,920</u>	<u>360</u>	<u>9,560</u>	<u>29,600</u>
TOTAL	4,880	81,200	1,120	38,600	125,800

RECENT IN-MIGRANTS FROM THE USA

	<u>CONDO</u>	<u>MDU</u>	<u>MHOME</u>	<u>SDU</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
HISP	1,360	25,920	600	17,840	45,720
NHB	1,120	28,840	200	12,360	42,520
NHO	1,880	12,960	160	11,320	26,320
NHW	<u>25,520</u>	<u>175,880</u>	<u>15,040</u>	<u>151,360</u>	<u>367,800</u>
TOTAL	29,880	243,600	16,000	192,880	482,360

HOUSEHOLDS LIVING IN OVERCROWDED CONDITIONS
(More than 1.01 persons per room)

	REGION			RESIDENTS OVER 5 YEARS			
	<u>NO</u>	<u>YES</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>NO</u>	<u>YES</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	
HISPANIC	473,580	221,160	694,740	417,500	177,400	594,900	
BLACK	325,200	36,300	361,500	285,640	31,780	317,420	
ASIAN	157,860	40,400	198,260	114,580	16,840	131,420	
WHITE	<u>2,607,220</u>	<u>61,620</u>	<u>2,668,840</u>	<u>2,227,020</u>	<u>44,420</u>	<u>2,271,440</u>	
TOTAL	3,563,860	359,480	3,923,340	3,044,740	270,440	3,315,180	-
	RECENT IMMIGRANTS FROM ABROAD			RECENT IN-MIGRANTS FROM THE USA			
	<u>NO</u>	<u>YES</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>NO</u>	<u>YES</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	
HISPANIC	23,280	30,840	54,120	32,800	12,920	45,720	
BLACK	1,080	480	1,560	38,480	4,040	42,520	
ASIAN	22,400	18,120	40,520	20,880	5,440	26,320	
WHITE	<u>23,560</u>	<u>6,040</u>	<u>29,600</u>	<u>356,640</u>	<u>11,160</u>	<u>367,800</u>	
TOTAL	70,320	55,480	125,800	448,800	33,560	482,360	

1980 OVERPAYMENT

	REGION			RESIDENTS OVER 5 YEARS		
	<u>NO</u>	<u>YES</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>NO</u>	<u>YES</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
HISP	474,120	220,620	694,740	417,800	177,100	594,900
NHB	219,420	142,080	361,500	195,900	121,520	317,520
NHO	135,160	63,100	198,260	98,960	32,460	131,420
NHW	<u>1,940,680</u>	<u>728,160</u>	<u>2,668,840</u>	<u>1,697,440</u>	<u>574,000</u>	<u>2,271,440</u>
TOTAL	2,769,380	1,153,960	3,923,340	2,410,100	905,080	3,315,180

	RECENT IMMIGRANTS FROM ABROAD			RECENT IN-MIGRANTS FROM THE USA		
	<u>NO</u>	<u>YES</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>NO</u>	<u>YES</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
HISP	30,480	23,640	54,120	25,840	19,880	45,720
NHB	800	760	1,560	22,720	19,800	42,520
NHO	20,200	20,320	40,520	16,000	10,320	26,320
NHW	<u>13,120</u>	<u>16,480</u>	<u>29,600</u>	<u>230,120</u>	<u>137,680</u>	<u>367,800</u>
TOTAL	64,600	61,200	125,800	294,680	187,680	482,360

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